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CLARENCE MITCHELL

Republican Case For 1952

VAL J. WASHINGTON

Politics In The Southwest

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A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

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October, 1952

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Party Platform Pledges On Civil Rights

Text of the Republican party's 1952 campaign platform on civil rights:

CIVIL RIGHTS

WE CONDEMN bigots who inject class, racial and religious prejudice into public and political matters. Bigotry is un-American and a danger to the Republic.

We deplore the duplicity and insincerity of the party in power in racial and religious matters. Although they have been in office as a majority party for many years they have not kept nor do they intend to keep their promises.

The Republican party will not mislead, exploit or attempt to confuse minority groups for political purposes. All American citizens are entitled to full, impartical enforcement of federal laws relating to their civil rights.

We believe that it is the primary responsibility of each state to order and control its own domestic institutions, and this power, reserved to the states, is essential to the maintenance of our Federal Republic. However, we believe that the federal government should take supplemental action within its Constitutional jurisdiction to oppose discrimination against race, religion or national origin.

We will prove our good faith by:

Appointing qualified persons, without distinction of race, religion or national origin, to responsible positions in the government.

Federal action toward the elimination of lynching.

Federal action toward the elimination of poll taxes as a prerequisite to voting.

Appropriate action to end segregation in the District of Columbia.

Enacting federal legislation to further just and equitable treatment in the area of discriminatory employment practices. Federal action should not duplicate state efforts to end such practices; should not set up another huge bureaucracy.

Text of the Democratic party's 1952 campaign platform on civil rights:

IMPROVING CONGRESSIONAL PROCEDURES

IN ORDER that the will of the American people may be expressed upon all legislative proposals, we urge that action be taken at the beginning of the Eighty-third Congress to improve Congressional procedures so that majority rule prevails and decisions can be made after reasonable debate without being blocked by a minority in either house.

CIVIL RIGHTS

The Democratic party is committed to support and advance the individual rights and liberties of all Americans.

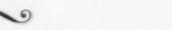
Our country is founded on the proposition that all men are created equal. This means that all citizens are equal before the law and should enjoy equal political rights. They should have equal opportunity for education, for economic advancement, and for decent living conditions.

We will continue our efforts to eradicate discrimination based on race, religion or national origin.

We know this task requires action, not just in one section of the nation, but in all sections. It requires the cooperative efforts of individual citizens and action by state and local governments. It also requires federal action. The federal government must live up to the ideals of the Declaration of Independence and must exercise the powers vested in it by the Constitution.

We are proud of the progress that has been made in securing equality of treatment and opportunity in the nation's armed forces and the Civil Service and all areas under federal jurisdiction. The Department of Justice has taken an important part in successfully arguing in the courts for the elimination of many illegal discriminations, including those involving rights to own and use real property, to engage in gainful occupations and to enroll in publicly supported higher educational institutions. We are determined that the federal government shall continue such policies.

At the same time, we favor federal legislation effectively to secure these rights to everyone: (1) the right to equal opportunity for employment; (2) the right to security of persons; (3) the right to full and equal participation in the nation's political life, free from arbitrary restraints. We also favor legislation to perfect existing federal civil rights statutes and to strengthen the administrative machinery for the protection of civil rights.



SENATOR JOHN J. SPARKMAN'S (D., Alabama) RECORD ON CIVIL RIGHTS:

IN THE SENATE *(partial record)*

Against protection of servicemen from assault, March 7, 1951;

Against stopping the anti-FEPC filibuster, May 19 and July 12, 1950;

For segregation in the armed forces, June 21, 1950;

For the Wherry-Hayden resolution, March 17, 1949;

Against prohibition of segregated public housing, April 21, 1949;

Against withholding Federal funds from jim crow schools, May 3, 1949;

Against an anti-lynching measure to protect servicemen, June 7, 1948;

IN THE HOUSE *(partial record)*

Against prohibition of discrimination in the disbursement of funds for the school-lunch program, February 21, 1946;

Against anti-lynching bills, January 8 and 10, 1940; April 7 and 15, 1937;

Against abolition of the poll tax, June 12, 1945; May 25, 1943; October 13, 1942; and twice on October 12, 1942, against motions to take up the anti-poll-tax bill.

MR. AND MRS. NAACP AND JUNIOR—*This happy family could easily be named Mr. and Mrs. NAACP and NAACP, Jr. In real life, however, it is the family of Walter L. Lowe, Chicago, Ill., insurance broker and counsellor. The Lowes recently purchased a family life membership in the NAACP—*$1,500. *Pictured above are Mrs. Lois Lowe, Walter Jr., better known as "Buster," and Mr. Lowe.*

These are the Issues

By Clarence Mitchell

FAIR employment legislation with enforcement powers and a means of ending filibusters by a majority vote in the U. S. Senate are the dominant legislative issues of 1952. Candidates who favor these objectives usually give full support to all vital civil rights legislation. There is no doubt that settlement of these major issues in the 83rd Congress will pave the way for passage of practically all civil rights bills.

In the closing days of the second session of the Eighty-second Congress the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee, largely because of the initiative of Senator Hubert Humphrey (D.-Minn.), reported out S. 3368 which is called the Federal Equality of Opportunity in Employment Act. Promptly, some newspapers labeled it a watered down FEPC bill. Actually, of course, the bill is a combination of the original FEPC bills introduced during the first session by Senator Humphrey, Senator Irving Ives (R.-N.Y.) and others. The fact that even some of the friends of FEPC thought the bill was weaker just because the name was changed shows how little attention friends or foes have paid to the actual provisions of this legislation.

Southern opponents use the letters FEPC to conjure up visions of all anti-Negro stereotypes ever known in Dixie. Friends have sometimes pictured FEPC as a means of ending all racial discrimination in one fell swoop. Therefore, it was natural that when the Senate Committee reported out the real bill with the magic letters omitted there was talk on both sides of the civil rights battlefront about the bill being a compromise.

S. 3368 would establish a Commission to handle fair employment problems. It would cover employers of fifty or more persons where such employers are engaged in interstate commerce. The commission could issue directives to halt discrimination in employment and it could go to a Federal court to get those directives enforced. There is also a new provision which permits, but does not require, the commission to cede jurisdiction to FEPC bodies in states with laws that the commission considers adequate.

Although this bill was not passed because of threats of filibuster, the

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CLARENCE MITCHELL *is director of the Washington, D. C., bureau of the NAACP.*

action of the Senate Labor Committee was of great value in an election year. The committee clearly defined the issue of fair employment. Only a charlatan could pretend that this bill was some dangerous kind of legislation. Three of the committee members voted against the bill. They were Senator Robert A. Taft (R.-Ohio), Senator Lister Hill (D.-Ala.) and Senator Richard Nixon (R.-Calif.), who is now the G.O.P. nominee for Vice-President.

No action was taken in the House on FEPC during the Eighty-second Congress because it was smothered in the House Labor Committee by Chairman Graham Barden D.-N.C.). A discharge petition to get the bill out was started by Congressman Adam Powell (D.-N.Y.), but not enough signatures were obtained to bring the bill to the floor.

Second to FEPC, the filibuster has been the most distorted issue on the legislative front. Opponents of the filibuster have rightly condemned it as a frustration of the democratic process. They point out that those who filibuster talk endlessly on the Senate floor and, thereby, prevent important bills from coming to a vote. Even the threat of a filibuster has been sufficient to keep the Senate from taking up important bills.

As stated on FEPC, the threat of a filibuster in the Eighty-second Congress also prevented the bringing up of an Anti-Lynching Bill. Senator Ernest McFarland, the majority leader, was willing to bring up the measure but he could not get assurance that there would not be a filibuster if the bill contained a provision making it possible for victims of lynch mobs or their survivors to sue the county in which the crime occurred.

On March 11, 1949, the Senate voted 46 to 41 to override a ruling by Vice-President Barkley which would have made it possible to end filibusters. Thereafter the Senate passed a so-called compromise rule that requires sixty-four votes to halt a filibuster. It also provides that debate may not be limited on resolutions to change the rules. On May 19, 1950, the first attempt to use this rule lost by a vote of 52 to 32. On July 12, 1950, a second attempt failed by a vote of 55 to 33.

RULES CHANGE

Senator Herbert Lehman (D.-N.Y.) ably assisted by Senators William Benton (D.-Conn.), Wayne Morse (R.-Ore.) and others tried to get the Eighty-second Congress to adopt a change of rules that would permit a majority to limit debate after fourteen days of filibustering. Even after limitation of debate is imposed, under the Lehman plan, Senators could still talk for ninety-six hours before a vote would be taken. The Lehman proposal which is S. Res. 105 also permits limitation of debate after forty-eight hours of filibustering, but only if two-thirds of the Senators present and voting agree. It also would stop filibusters against rules changes.

After hearings on the Lehman resolution and others, the Senate Rules Committee reported out a proposal submitted by Senator Kenneth Wherry (R.-Neb.), now deceased, which would require that support of two-thirds of the senators present and

voting would be needed to halt a filibuster. The Wherry resolution also would leave unchanged the provision in the present rule permitting debate on any proposal to change the rules. The Wherry resolution was reported out largely at the urging of Senator William Jenner (R.-Ind.).

Actually, the anti-filibuster fight is not simply a battle of the civil rights forces. Senators can and do kill many kinds of valuable legislation either by filibuster or the threat of filibuster. It is interesting to note that when the decision to separate the filibuster question from the civil rights plank was made by the platform committee at the Democratic National Convention this year there were some friends and some foes of civil rights who opposed this as an unwise move.

RULES COMMITTEE

In the House of Representatives the Rules Committee, which is heavily weighted with conservative Congressmen, accomplishes what the filibuster crew accomplishes in the Senate. Its members usually vote to strangle and keep off the floor civil rights bills reported out by other committees. In the Eighty-first Congress a rule was passed permitting committee chairmen to call up bills previously approved by their committees if, after 21 legislative days, the Rules Committee had failed to act. This rule was defeated in the Eighty-second Congress. The Rules Committee, which is dominated by Eugene Cox (D.-Ga.), again wields its old power.

The House rules permit bringing up a bill by unanimous consent, by discharge petition or on what is known as Calendar Wednesday. However, all of these present hazards which usually operate against civil rights legislation. Hence a change back to the 21 day rule is highly desirable.

The major legislative issues of 1952 also include anti-lynching legislation, anti-jim crow travel bills, a bill to outlaw the poll tax and amendments to strengthen existing Federal Civil Rights statutes.

Another issue of vital importance is the inclusion of non-segregation provisions in all programs of Federal aid for schools, housing, recreation and other things. The Federal Government frequently makes segregation possible and in some cases, such as housing, actually extends it by permitting the use of funds for jim crow accommodations.

Segregation in the District of Columbia has long been an important issue and there are many who argue that this problem can best be met by giving home rule to the people of Washington. However, home rule merits support in its own right and candidates should also be pledged to abolish segregation in the District of Columbia by legislative and executive action. The NAACP has also consistently urged home rule for the people of Alaska and Hawaii by the granting of statehood to these territories.

At present, local peace officers or civilians may assault, rob or kill members of the Armed Services without committing a federal offense. Usually, members of the Armed Service suffer great injustices when they serve in American communities that

are hostile to them because of race, religion, national origin or for some other reason.

NEEDED LEGISLATION

On March 7, 1951, a proposal by Senator Lehman, which would have protected members of the Armed Services, was tabled by a Senate vote of 57 to 30. Similar efforts by Congressman Franck Havenner (D.-Calif.) were defeated in the House. As long as young people are called to serve in various parts of the country they are entitled to protection. Therefore, every candidate should pledge to work for the passage of this much needed legislation.

In recent years, each time the Congress considers draft or universal military training legislation someone in the House or Senate tries to get through an amendment which would require segregation in the armed services. So far these attempts have been defeated but candidates should be warned to be on guard against any attempts to extend segregation in this fashion. Certain groups have also repeatedly sought to establish a jim crow hospital for colored veterans. The latest effort, which was sponsored by Congressman John Rankin (D.-Miss.), was defeated on June 6, 1951. Rankin, fortunately, has also been defeated but there are other members who will carry on where he has left off.

Using his power on the Rules Committee, Congressman Cox succeeded in getting a resolution passed on April 4, 1952, which provides for an investigation of foundations and organizations to determine whether they are "stirring up class and race distinction throughout the South." The vote was 194 to 158. This committee has $75,000 with which to operate. Although it is scheduled to expire with the Eighty-second Congress next January, Cox will undoubtedly seek to obtain more money for it. This venture, which at best would be a gross duplication of the work of other House Committees, should be halted in the Eighty-third Congress.

When the Eighty-second Congress adjourned the Lodge-Gossett Resolution, which abolishes the electoral college in a manner that gives greater power to the South, was pending on the calendar in the House and Senate. This proposal will probably be introduced in the Eighty-third Congress, although one of the sponsors, Congressman Gossett of Texas, is no longer a member of Congress.

These issues are all important and require serious study by voters and candidates alike. Discussing them fully before the election will save many hours of explanation and letter writing after the office seekers go to Washington.

The Crisis regrets that the article promised by the Democratic National Committee had not arrived by press time.

■ According to this writer, the Republican party has a record of positive action in advancing Negroes as citizens

The Republican Case for 1952

By Val J. Washington

A DELUGE of talk about civil rights has recently gushed from Democratic sources, after three years of complete silence on this important subject. We must remember, however, this is an election year. The barrage of words, as pretty and as promising as they have sounded, however, has failed to alter the historical and present truth. In actual performance in the interests of America's biggest minority, the Republican party leads its opponent 10 to 1.

Historically, 3,000,000 Negro slaves found emancipation through the Republican party eighty-nine years ago. In 1952, this same party offers the surest and best chance, the most practical, realistic and honest program through which this minority, now multiplied and transformed into 15,000,000 Americans, can achieve their present political ambition of full citizenship.

VAL J. WASHINGTON *is assistant to the chairman of the Republican National Committee.*

In 1860, Abraham Lincoln, allied with the party which championed freedom for the slaves, was best equipped to act in the interest of this minority. In 1952, Dwight D. Eisenhower, standing with the party whose position on Negro rights is an honest one, based on consistent recognition of the minority's Constitutional equality instead of a politically expedient one, is best fit to serve the interests of Negro Americans as President of the United States.

When asked where and how his party and his party's presidential candidate, stands in regard to the Negro minority, the most loyal of Republicans will probably admit, "We've been out-talked." But neither apology nor a feeling of shame can accompany this admission. For while the Democrats, from Roosevelt to Truman, and from Truman to his would-be White House successor, Stevenson, have promised a great deal to Negroes, the Democrats have not delivered and will not deliver. Stevenson's recent pronouncement for a compulsory FEPC law sounds

good to Negro Americans who realize that right to a decent job for which a man is qualified is an important phase of their struggle for citizenship. But viewed in light of the twenty-year old Democratic talkathon, with its negative record on delivery, Stevenson's words are suspect. When a party leader promises what he knows his own party will not deliver — will act instead to keep him from delivering; such promises add up to pure unadulterated political bunk. Republicans can all take pride in the knowledge that their party has not exploited the minority cause, nor made a political football of minority rights. The loyal Republican can take pride in the fact that his party has delivered on its campaign promises when in power. He knows the *proof* of the Republican stand on Negro welfare lies in the record, just as the futility of Democratic words on Negro rights is *exposed* in the record.

PARTY RECORD

Can these statements be proved? Yes, they can. To prove them, let's first examine the Republican party record past and present on minority rights. Let's then examine, for comparison, the Democratic party record, past and present on minority rights. For additional proof, let's next examine the Republican platform in comparison with the Democratic party platform in regard to Negro minority welfare. And finally on the basis of these comparisons, let's analyze what can be expected from the Republican presidential candidate in regard to minority rights.

The record of the Republican party shows that its stand on Negro minority rights is germane to the history of the Republican party itself. It's no new and expedient vote-baiting measure. The Republican party came into being over the issue of Negro slavery, and its initial platform adopted in 1856 declared for the restriction of slavery from the territories. Its aim for restriction was achieved and extended to Emancipation of Negro slaves under Abe Lincoln. The Republican party then enacted the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments which Constitutionally ended slavery, protected the rights of citizenship for Negroes, and gave Negroes the vote.

No matter how much the Democrats may yell, they cannot minimize the importance of these Republican sponsored and Republican passed amendments to the welfare of Negro Americans. Despite repeated attempts by Democrats to nullify, to get around, to kill the potency of these amendments, they have remained the hub upon which organizations like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People have been able to advance the civil rights of Negroes. The right to vote in so-called "white" primaries (Smith vs. Albright, 1944) the prohibition of court enforcement of restrictive covenants based on race (Shelley vs. Kraemer and McGee vs. Sipee, 1948, and Hurd vs. Hodge and Urchiolo vs. Hodge, 1948) the right to picket for jobs (New Negro Alliance vs. Sanitary Grocery Co., 1938) these and other extensions of Negro rights have all been based on the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments. More victories are being won on them today.

POSITIVE ACTION

The Republican party has continued to bring its own record of interest in the welfare of the Negro American up to date by consistently taking positive action to improve his rights. Outstanding in this respect has been what the Republican party has done on the civil rights package. While Truman has argued he took the lead in espousing the need for FEPC — which he did not — the record shows that Republicans are way ahead of Democrats on FEPC action. To date eleven states have enacted FEPC laws: nine of them under Republican leadership. New York, a Republican state, was the first to enact FEPC law with the Ives Bill in 1945. And second to follow was New Jersey, home of the beloved Governor Driscoll. Not a single Republican state has attempted to limit Negro voting by a poll tax. The record further shows that the first anti-lynching bill — killed of course by Democratic filibuster, as all of them have been — was introduced by a Republican, Congressman Dyer about 1924.

In improving the economic status of Negroes the record again shows that on delivery — not idle words — the Republican party has been the leader. Republicans in Congress, over President Truman's veto, passed the Taft-Hartley Labor Law. This act Mr. Truman has condemned as "slave law." Governor Stevenson says "it has good features" and is not a slave law even though to satisfy "labor bosses" he wants to scrap it. This law, passed by Republicans, is the most significant labor law enacted in the interests of the Negro minority. Under this act, a union that has a union shop cannot force an employer to discriminate against Negroes to whom the union refuses membership or whom they segregate, as 34 unions do. Of course, neither the Democratic-controlled National Labor Relations Board, nor the National Mediation Board has enforced this fair employment practices provision, which would so immensely improve labor conditions and opportunities for Negroes. This phase of Taft-Hartley is never talked about by the "labor bosses."

But again in giving key jobs to Negroes, the record shows the Republicans the leader. Negroes have been appointed to more key positions under Republicans than under Democrats. When Wilson, the Democrat, supplanted Taft, the Republican, in 1913 in the White House, Negroes held 19,728 federal jobs, including sixteen in the diplomatic and consular services. Wilson promptly ousted all Negroes from the big jobs and never replaced them. Key positions given to Negroes by Republicans and lost under Democrats included Registrar of Treasury, U. S. Collector of Customs in Boston and New Orleans, and a ministership to Haiti. Despite all of its professions about international cooperation and goodwill, the Democrats just last year appointed a white man as Ambassador to Haiti.

DEMOCRATIC CREDO

While this has been the record of the Republican party, a record of positive action advancing Negroes as citizens in American society, the record of the Democratic party has

been the opposite. As the Republican party was born with the welfare of Negroes in mind, the Democratic party gained strength over efforts to expand Negro slavery. It has been as consistent in keeping Negroes, whom the Republicans freed, "in their places" as the Republican party has been persistent in trying to secure citizenship for Negroes.

As a matter of fact, the southern majority of the Democratic party makes inequality of Negroes, the very thing Negroes are fighting against, its political credo. Northern Democrats such as Stevenson aid and abet Southerners as the picking of Senator Sparkman as his running mate will attest.

How this southern control of the Democratic party has produced disastrous results on Negro progress and ruined Republican efforts to advance rights for Negroes can probably best be gauged by a look at the Democratic record in Congress. Traditionally, Democratic Southerners, elected by the one-party system of the South, remain in Congress longer than congressmen from any other section of the country. They automatically, as a result, inherit key committee posts with all the privileges and powers inherent in them, since committee chairmanships are appointed on the basis of seniority. Take the 82nd Congress, for example. The Senate had fifteen standing committees. Nine of them had southern chairmen. The House of Representatives had nineteen standing committees, twelve of them were headed by southern chairmen. Furthermore, of the 233 Democrat members of the House, 129 were from the South; and of the 50 Democrat senators, 26 were from the South. Democrat senators and congressmen from border states such as Kentucky and Oklahoma must be included when it comes to racial issues.

With such a Democratic majority prevailing in the Congress, what action was taken to deliver the 1948 campaign and platform promises of the Democrats? None! Truman himself had admitted that the Congress has "taken no action on my civil rights proposals." Indeed, one wonders why he would make such proposals, if he has no intention of forcing such issues.

Perhaps the best key of how phony any Democratic promises on civil rights are lies in their action on cloture. Although committed by the 1948 Democratic platform to "civil rights" only thirty-five percent of the Democratic senators voted for cloture when that bill was introduced in the 81st Congress. Yet, 78 percent of the Republicans voted for cloture.

There's been a lot of hullabaloo about the Republican 1952 platform. We say ours is as strong as the Democratic platform and calls for everything for which we are fighting. The right to full and equal participation in the nation's political life, free from arbitrary restraints, is all we seek. The Democrat platform was so innocuous that even the Dixiecrats who walked out of the 1948 convention accepted it without a squawk.

INTEGRITY VS. INTENTIONS

Did they accept it because John Sparkman, the man they propose to preside over the Senate, expressed

the real intentions of the Southerners in a speech in Mobile, Alabama, on 17 April 1950? He said, among other things, "I am against the civil rights proposals — always have been and always will be." "We Southern Democratic senators — twenty-one of us — are banded together and pledged to use every parliamentary device possible to defeat civil rights legislation." Or was it because there is a satisfactory understanding between northern and southern Democrats. We as Republicans have long suspected this.

Sparkman is the man into whose hands civil rights legislation is to be delivered.

In the final analysis the test of the worth of any platform is the integrity and intentions of the men charged with the responsibility of carrying it out.

To add insult to injury this same Southerner from Alabama who proudly acknowledged his role of compromiser on the civil rights platform of the Democratic party was selected to run as Stevenson's mate on the Democratic ticket. Sparkman has always voted against rights for Negroes!

Compared to this innocuous platform, the Republican platform recommends definite action on several phases of the civil rights program. It has given Eisenhower what he calls a "chance for a crusade for all Americans," and reads:

We condemn bigots who inject class, racial and religious prejudices into public and political matters. Bigotry is un-American and a danger to the Republic.

We deplore the duplicity and insincerity of the party in power in racial and religious matters. Although they have been in office as a majority power for many years, they have not kept nor do they intend to keep their promises.

The Republican party will not mislead, exploit, or attempt to confuse minority groups for political purposes. All American citizens are entitled to full, impartial enforcement of federal laws relating to their civil rights.

We believe that it is the primary responsibility of each state to order and control its own domestic institutions, and this power, reserved to the states, is essential to the maintenance of our federal republic. However, we believe that the federal government should take supplemental action within its constitutional jurisdiction to oppose discrimination against race, religion or national origin.

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Federal action toward the elimination of poll taxes as a prerequisite to voting.

Appropriate action to end segregation in the District of Columbia.

Enacting federal legislation to further just and equitable treatment in the area of discriminatory employment practices.

Federal action should not duplicate state efforts to end such practices; should not set up another huge bureaucracy.

NEXT PRESIDENT

On the basis of the Republican party record, a consistent one in favor of Negro rights, in comparison to the no-delivery Democratic record, it can factually be concluded that in the interests of Negro rights,

(*Continued on page 539*)

MAPPING A CAMPAIGN—*Field secretary Lester P. Bailey (left) maps an NAACP membership campaign with the special activities committee of the Los Angeles, California, branch. From left, are chairman Lillie Montgomery, M. J. McCuthon, and J. C. McGee. The branch drive was for 1,000 new members.*

■ **Negroes in the Southwest vote issues and personalities rather than parties**

Politics in the Southwest

By John Jay Jones

THE Solid South has fallen apart as a political force in the democratic party. It started breaking at the seams when Senator Cotton Ed Smith of South Carolina stomped out of Convention Hall in Philadelphia when a Negro minister delivered the invocation at the democratic convention in 1940. Roosevelt's fourth-term election in 1944 served to emphasize the continuation of his program of liberal legislation, which included social security, unemployment compensation, old age pensions, price and rent controls, public housing, FEPC, public health and the like.

When the reins of government passed into Truman's hands in 1945, a pang of hope surged in the hearts of the Old South that the policies of government would now be fashioned more to their liking, but this hope soon faded into bitter disappointment.

In 1948 the South went into open rebellion against the liberal trends of the democratic party and formed its own Dixiecrat party to defeat Truman. The decisive victory of the administration without Southern support brought the South to the Chicago convention in 1952 disillusioned, bitter and divided. There could be no revolt, no rebellion, and no walking out because there was no place to go. The South had to accept the democratic party platform however unpalatable it might be.

The South that once dominated the policies of the democratic party on civil rights and matters pertaining to Negroes, has not been solid within itself for some time. Though many southern politicians were strongly opposed to the Roosevelt-Truman philosophy of government, they were forced to stay within the framework of the democratic party for reasons of political expediency and self-survival. These were mostly men in national politics. Those at the state level felt more freedom and made their opposition known. But this was a dividing wedge within the party. Then there is a natural growth of liberalism taking root in the South. Those who make up this group are persons thirty-five years of age or under who have been educated, taken up their life work, and prospered under the New and Fair

JOHN JAY JONES *is president of the Texas state conference of NAACP branches, Texarkana, Texas.*

Deals. They are not inclined to give up their union organizations, their old age pension rights, their unemployment compensation, their low cost housing programs, their high wages and other advantages to go back to slums, unemployment, insecurity, low wages and attendant circumstances.

RIVAL DELEGATIONS

It was this now significant group of so-called left wing democrats that sent rival delegations to Chicago from Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas. And it is they who have driven another wedge of division through the democratic party of the South.

Governor Allan Shivers, who headed the conservative delegation from Texas, went to the convention in July with instructions to trade his support for the democratic party in exchange for a watered down civil rights plank and a pledge that the party nominees would favor legislation to return control of the oil rich costal tidelands to California, Louisiana, and Texas. But when Shivers got to the convention he met stronger than expected opposition from his rival delegation. This put him in the position of having to bargain to get his delegation seated. Now he could make no demands. Rather, he had to make concessions by making a pledge that, if seated, he would accept the party platform and support its nominees.

Shivers returned to Texas just three days before the primary election in which he was running for reelection to meet charges that he had sold Texas' tidelands for a seat in the convention at Chicago. It was to free himself from this charge that he went to see Stevenson at Springfield to bargain for his support on the tidelands issue. Stevenson's denial opened the back door for Shivers to escape his pledge to the democratic party. He came back to Texas saying that he could not support Stevenson because he did not favor returning the tidelands to the states. Then he gave Stevenson's attitude on civil rights, FEPC, and the filler-buster as other reasons why he could not support the democratic nominees. Herein lies the crux of the revolt of Texas and other southern states against the democratic party and its nominees.

PARTY NOMINEES

The Southwest, for the purpose of this article, consists of Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma and Texas. Of these four states only Louisiana and Texas are in revolt. The *Arkansas Gazette*, with the largest circulation in Arkansas, supports the democratic nominees and described Eisenhower as being "charming but not affective" in his Litle Rock appearance. The *Daily Oklahoman* is supporting the party nominees, and Editor Roscoe Dunjee is giving lots of editorial space in his *Black Dispatch* to pinpointing advantages for Negroes under democratic administrations.

Louisiana is lukewarm in its support of the democratic party, but Governor Kennon has predicted that Louisiana will be in the democratic camp in November.

The Texas Democratic Convention met on September 9, and upon the insistence of Governor Shivers

instructed its electors to vote for Stevenson and Sparkman, and then adopted a resolution denouncing them and urging all Texas democrats to vote for Eisenhower and Nixon.

Republican leaders received this news jubilantly and welcomed a coalition of Dixiecrats, renegade Democrates, and Republicans. This will likely get some votes for Eisenhower, but it is not expected to influence a great number of Negroes to their side.

Normally Negroes in the Southwest vote the democratic ticket. They, as others, have had no other effective choice in one party states.

POLITICAL MATURITY

Negroes in this area have come to political adulthood within the last ten years with the passing of the white primary. Thus they hold no strong party loyalties. They tend to vote issues and personalities rather than parties.

Negroes in the Southwest go to the polls thinking not of parties, but of freedom. They think of their jobs and of their rights to better jobs. They think of the safety and security of their persons and of their homes and of their opportunities to buy better homes. They think of riding trolley cars, buses, and trains without molestation and of their rights to use and enjoy places of public accommodation in an atmosphere of dignity and peace. They think of better education and better jobs for their children, unrestricted by prejudice and discrimination. They think of more and better health facilities for themselves and their families. They think of fair trials in the courts of the land and of the rights of their children to serve in these courts as clerks, reporters, and bailiffs, and to preside over these courts as justices of the peace and judges. They think of a happier America, free of prejudice and hate, free from segregation and discrimination. They think of their duty to bring these things to pass by the proper use of their vote. All of these rights, duties, privileges, and advantages the Negro wants and he will use his vote to secure them.

SENATOR RICHARD M. NIXON'S (R., California) RECORD ON CIVIL RIGHTS

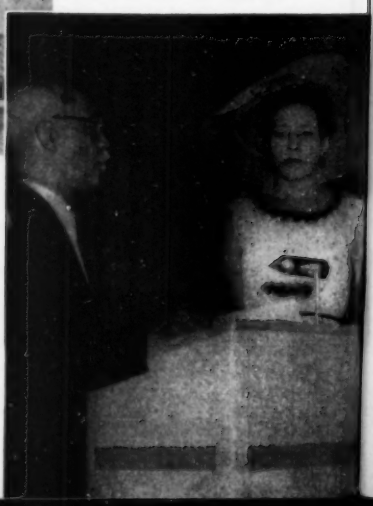
IN THE SENATE *(partial record)*

Against protection of servicemen from assaults by civilians and local police;
Against (as committee member) reporting Ives-Humphrey FEPC bill out of Senate labor and education committee, June 24, 1952;

IN THE HOUSE *(partial record)*

Against curbing power of Rules Committee to block civil rights legislation, January 20, 1950;
Against FEPC bill with enforcement powers, February 22, 1950;
For prohibition of segregation in SPARS, April 4, 1949;
For abolition of poll tax, July 26, 1949 and July 21, 1947.

NEW EXECUTIVE SECRETARY *of the Pittsburgh, Pa., NAACP branch, Mrs. Marion Jordon, confers with Atty. Richard Jones (left), branch president, and Rev. Amos Brackeen, member of the executive board.* MIDDLE: *Members of the executive committee of the Indian Wells Valley branch, California. This group conducted a successful fund-raising drive.* BOTTOM: *This group was the backbone of the Hartford, Conn., branch membership committee. This committee brought in 627 new members.*



SOUTHWEST REGIONAL SECRETARY *Ruby Hurly receives checks totaling* $1,600 *from C. L. Harper of the American Teachers Association for the NAACP legal defense and educational fund.*

■ On the West Coast the Negro voter must be courted and not counted

The West Coast Negro Voter

By Maurice Gerard

WE need look no further than the 1948 election for evidence of the risk involved in prophesying the results of a presidential election. Even more hazardous is the attempt to predict what role a particular racial group will play even before the other characters in the drama have been clearly delineated. There is no question, however, that the Negro, by virtue of his unique and unfavorable position in our society tends to vote as a Negro first. The Negro vote is a reality: the logical issue of the twin evils of segregation and discrimination. In this respect the political evaluation of the Negro in the West parallels that of the Negro elsewhere in the country. There are, however, several variables which need to be considered before we can attempt an analysis of the western Negro's vote in 1952.

The years since 1940 have seen a tremendous increase in the Negro population of the Far West. The vast majority of those who came during the war years were seeking greater opportunities for community freedom and economic security. In the main, they have come directly out of the South. Today, in at least one western state, California, their vote represents the balance of power and in most of the larger metropolitan cities of the West they similarly can swing an election to the Democratic or Republican party.

One thing which differentiates him, as most other westerners, from the rest of the country, is the lack of any substantial control of the electorate by political machines. This lack of control results from the cross-filing system in California in both state and national elections, and the non-partisan policy followed in most municipal elections. As an example, though there are substantially more registered Democrats than Republicans in California, Governor Earl Warren, a Republican, has been returned to office

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MAURICE GERARD *is the pseudonym of a well known West Coast public figure who prefers to remain anonymous.*

twice as the nominee of both parties. The lack of any direct exposure to strong party organization spares the western Negro the fear of party domination and thus enables him to think primarily of his own concerns. More than any other group in the country it may safely be said that the Negro in the West thinks first as a member of a racial group denied equality of opportunity because of his race, and secondly, as an American. He is still too much of a "newcomer" to be greatly affected by such typically regional issues as tidelands oil, water rights, and farm-labor immigration. Such issues do not loom large on his political balance sheet, for experience has shown that a favorable record or platform on civil rights issues may completely outweigh these other issues.

REAL OPPORTUNITY

Further, the western Negro sees and feels in his new community more real opportunity for advancement in terms of the elimination of discrimination and segregation than he has observed or experienced elsewhere in the United States. He is a "new problem." The vested interests have not yet learned the techniques of subtle discrimination which have so effectively slowed the advancement of his group in the East and Middle West. He conceives, realistically, that within the next five or ten years, by maintaining a mounting pressure in the narrow area of civil rights to the exclusion of concern with other problems, he will bring about an atmosphere closer to equality than has been realized anywhere during the thirty years since World War I. He is not as willing, therefore, to weigh the balance for or against a candidate or party on the basis of those issues which affect him as a worker, a housewife, or an American citizen generally; rather, he tends, and from his point of view with great justification, to think of his interests first as a Negro than as a member of some broader classified group.

The background of the majority of western Negroes makes them more familiar with the Democratic than any other party. Coming directly out of the South, where politics for the Negro is a form of spectator sports played in the Democratic arena, most Negroes who have previously voted have done so only in the Democratic party primary election. This factor, plus the continuing influence of the magic name "Roosevelt," will tend in 1952 to push the Negro vote into the Democratic column.

This same background on the other hand represents the main barrier to the Western Negro voter's casting his ballot in 1952 for the Democratic presidential and vice-presidential nominees. When measured by his understandable narrow "civil rights rod," John Sparkman, the Democratic nominee for vice-president, may prove to be the factor that will prevent the Democratic ticket from measuring up to the standards set by the Negro for the receipt of his vote. The Western Negro, having so recently experienced years of oppressive inequality for which Democratic leaderhip in the South was responsible, will not soon forget the character of Southern Democratic leadership. He maintains

a deep distrust, if not hatred, for the Bilbos, Talmadges, Russells, and men of their ilk, to the degree that Sparkman, as an "unequivocal opponent of civil rights legislation," is classified in the same category.

UNUSUAL SENSITIVITY

On the other hand, there is little chance that any substantial number of Western Negroes will follow the banner of Dwight Eisenhower or their fellow westerner, Richard Nixon. The proximity of the west to the present armed conflict, the unusual sensitivity to the treatment of Negro servicemen, and the widespread publicity throughout this region concerning the treatment of Negro troops in segregated Army units, all militate against Western Negro support of the Republican presidential nominee. Eisenhower's testimony of several years past in support of Army segregation is an almost insurmountable barrier to Western Negro support for the Republican ticket.

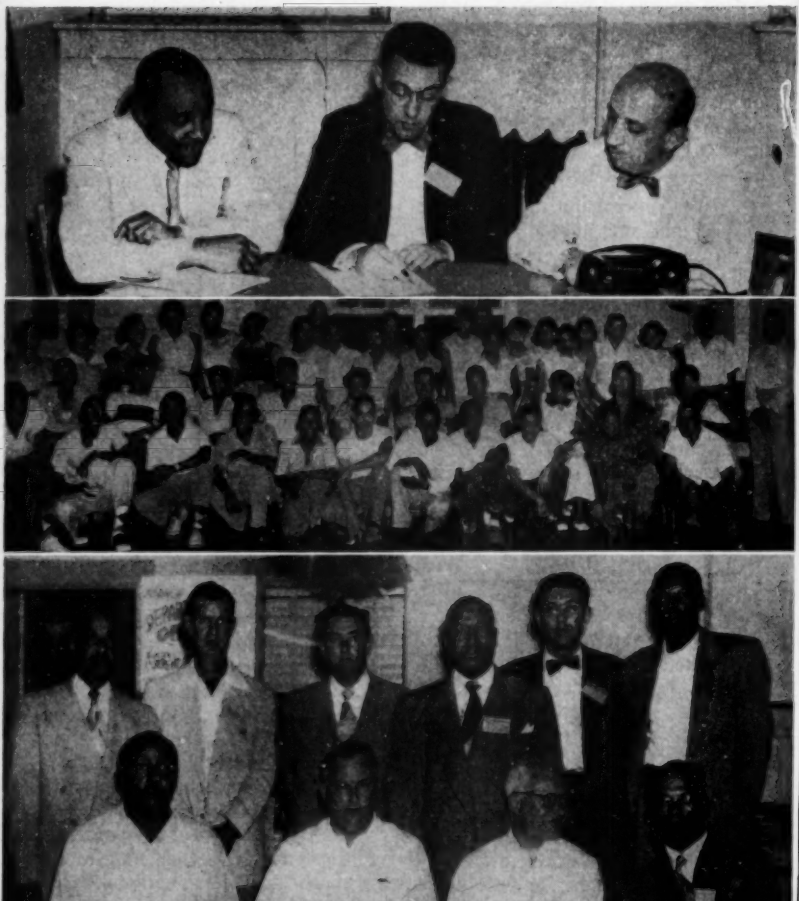
There is further a tremendous awareness in the west of the danger and damage that has resulted from the present loyalty hysteria. This awareness is particularly acute among Negroes. Such high sensitivity flows from the disproportionately number of Negro workers identified with the western water-front unions which have crusaded so consistently against the various aspects of the loyalty program. Richard Nixon's (Republican vice-presidential candidate) identification with such programs is well known, and his poor civil rights record is not sufficient to offset the Negro opposition, which will probably follow from such identification.

While the Negro press in this region has overwhelmingly endorsed the Stevenson-Sparkman ticket, not a single Negro newspaper has failed to honestly and accurately expose and criticize Sparkman's record on civil rights legislation. In editorializing in support of the Democratic party, and placing at the same time the cold light of truth on the vice-presidential nominee's record, they have further influenced Negro voters *away* from the Democratic party. The articles and editorials, while designed to win support for the Democrats, have served to remind the Negro of the depths of Sparkman's bigotry, as reflected by his record, and thus to reaffirm the Negro reader's opposition to participation in the selection of such an individual as vice-president of the United States.

ACUTE DILEMMA

The Negro westerner therefore is faced with an acute dilemma. The solution to this problem has not been discovered by him to date. One of several alternative courses of action will probably be followed. He may ignore the presidential race and seek to elect congressmen and senators about whom he has no doubts. He may reserve his decision for weeks to come, watching and listening to the campaign promises and speeches, awaiting either Republican realization that civil rights is "the measure" or some statement from Sparkman that he is finally freed of the apparent prejudices of Alabama that resulted in his completely negative civil rights record. Unfortunate as it may

(*Continued on page* 542)



LABOR LEADERS *are shown conferring with NAACP labor relations assistant Herbert Hill. From left, Cicero Scott, personal representative of William Green of the AFL; Herbert Hill; and Francis Shane, director Steel Workers Civil Rights Committee, United Steel Workers (CIO).* MIDDLE: *NAACP youth council group in Savannah, Georgia.* BOTTOM: *Some of the trade union representatives who attended the labor conference at the 43rd annual NAACP convention, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, June 24-29.*

■ **Probable Negro voting trend in the Southeast in the November presidential election**

Negro Vote in the Southeast

By C. A. Bacote

THE Democrats and the Republicans have completed the task of nominating their national ticket and drafting their platforms and are now ready to appeal to the voters for their support in the election this coming November. Already both parties have been subjected to a barrage of criticism by Negro leaders; the Democrats for having placed a Southerner, John Sparkman, on the ticket as vice-president; and the Republicans for their very weak and evasive civil rights plank. This attack has caused both parties deep concern because the Negro vote in eleven northern states represents the balance of power.

Since this article is concerned primarily with the Negro vote in the Southeastern part of the country, namely, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, and South Carolina, it is unnecessary to consider all the angles involving the northern Negro's political leaning in the November election.

During the Reconstruction period the Negro made it possible for the Republican party to control the South. When the Negroes were deprived of the vote following the withdrawal of the Federal troops, the South went Democratic. By use of legal and extra-legal methods the Negro was virtually disfranchised. A prominent southern historian stated that "in a technical sense, the southern Negro was as completely disfranchised in 1920 or 1940 as he had been in 1840 or 1950." The Republican party, realizing that the southern Negro was no longer an asset to the party, sanctioned the lily-white policy of excluding the Negro from party councils.

It wasn't until the United States Supreme Court declared in 1944 the white primary unconstitutional that the Negro began to be a political factor in southern politics. At the present time it is estimated that over 1,200,000 Negroes have registered in the twelve southern states. In the states of Georgia, Alabama, Florida, and South Carolina, it is estimated that there are almost 400,000 Ne-

C. A. BACOTE *is professor of history at Atlanta University.*

groes registered. This is unfortunate. There should be at least one million Negroes registered from these four states. There is one vital lesson that the southern Negro must learn, and that is that the future of the Negro politically lies in his own hands. He must register and vote in larger numbers and if he does, he will not have to worry about his civil rights being protected by his representatives in Congress. Because of the failure of the Negro to register in greater numbers, he does not hold the balance of power except in close primary elections in big urban centers.

UNUSUAL SIGNIFICANCE

This presidential election has unusual significance in that it marks the first time that a Republican candidate has campaigned for votes in the Deep South. Because of the strong opposition of the Dixiecrats and conservatives to the New Deal-Fair Deal program, the Republicans have great hopes of breaking the Solid South like they did in 1928. To accomplish this, it will be necessary to win not only a strong segment of the white vote, but also a considerable portion of the Negro vote. If all available reports can be relied upon, it is doubtful if the Republicans will be able to recapture the Negro vote in this area in 1952 despite the presence of Sparkman on the Democratic ticket.

For twenty years the New Deal policy has brought tangible results to the Negroes. The Democratic party had a program for the underprivileged groups, which clearly included the Negro. In the South during the depression years the Negro farmers were encouraged to participate in the Agricultural Adjustment Administration and to vote in the AAA referenda. Under the New Deal-Fair Deal program the Negro has enjoyed better housing, improved educational facilities, and greater benefits from social security legislation. He has not only witnessed but participated in the abolition of the white primary through a series of court suits going back to the original Texas primary case.

As a result of the abolition of the white primary, Negroes are not only registering in large numbers but are having their political weight felt more and more in state and local governments. In addition, "jim crow" practices on interstate carriers have gradually declined. As Attorney A. T. Walden, president of the Georgia Association of Democratic Clubs and temporary chairman of the Southwide Association of Negro Democrats, so aptly put it, "The Democratic Administration has stood forthrightly for an equal measure of dignity and opportunity for every American citizen."

The presence of Sparkman on the Democratic ticket will not cause many southern Negroes to desert the party for the Republican ticket. It is true that his record on civil rights is poor. But he represents the New South—a southern liberal, who believes that the number one problem of the South is economic and that if the economic status of all low income groups is improved, then the South will have solved one of its biggest problems. Just because Mr. Sparkman is from the South is no

reason why he should be the target of abuse. He has agreed to abide by the principles of the Democratic platform.

Northern Negroes have talked of bolting the ticket, an attitude which is not shared by most southern Negro Democrats. It must be kept in mind that Associate Justice Hugo Black was from Alabama and has become the most ardent protector of the civil rights of the individual. President Truman's record as a U. S. senator gave no indication that he would become the greatest champion of civil liberties and human rights since Lincoln. If Negroes registered in greater numbers so as to become a more positive factor in southern elections, there would be a gradual disappearance of the political demagogue whose chief plank in his platform is to keep the price of cotton up and keep the Negro down. Many southerners, once removed from their local environment and placed on a national level, become some of the country's outstanding liberals. Then too, Governor Stevenson's record on civil rights in Illinois is much better than that of General Eisenhower as a military leader.

DIXIECRAT FACTOR

Another factor which tends to offset any great transfer of allegiance of the southern Negro from the Democratic party to the Republican is the support that is being given to General Eisenhower by the Dixiecrats, and by many of the southern newspapers. At the last count there were fifty-six southern dailies supporting Eisenhower as against twenty-nine for Stevenson. The feelings of this group were well expressed by the Orlando (Florida) *Sentinel* quoted in the August 15 issue of the *United States News*. It stated: "The South feels that Harry Truman took the old Democratic party and beat them over the head with it. He tried to ram FEPC down our throats, not because he is a great humanitarian but because he is a trained, smooth politician who sought and won the colored vote and tried to sell the South down the river. . . . We believe the party is Truman's party, that he and his mink-coated carpetbaggers will dominate the next Democratic Administration if there is one. So we believe in change . . ."

This backing of the Republican candidate by reactionary forces of this ilk convinces the Negro Democrats of the South that there is nothing to be gained by shifting their allegiance to the Republicans in this election.

On the Republican side of the ledger the Negroes are divided into three classes. First, the older generation who by tradition support the ticket because it was the party that freed the Negro; second, those who are identified with big business or who have been financially successful in various fields; and third, those who have been Democrats under Franklin Roosevelt and President Truman but who feel that since the National Republican party is making a bid for the southern vote, there is a good chance of building up a strong two-party system in the South.

The Republican position is well stated by William Shaw, Atlanta business man and assistant secretary of the integrated Republican State Committee of Georgia. Mr. Shaw admitted that there had been a large swing over from the Republicans to the Democrats in Georgia but feels that with Eisenhower heading the ticket, many Negroes will flock back to the Republican ranks. "Fundamentally," he said, "a Negro can't be anything but a Republican. . . . The Republicans gave the Negro a chance when the Negro didn't have a thing to offer the party in the way of money or votes. They have continued to foster the Negro in politics." The only political salvation for the Negro, according to Mr. Shaw, is in the development of a strong two-party system.

LILY-WHITE REPUBLICANS

Another prominent Negro Republican in Florida belittled the civil rights program of Truman, declaring that it was a scheme "cooked up for colored people and we fell for it all over the country. . . . If Truman were sincere he would end segregation in the District of Columbia.

But whereas the Republican party in Georgia is well integrated, the Republican party in Alabama is lily white, and has been for years. In the present campaign it is appealing to the 1948 State Rights ticket by citing the mild Republican civil rights platform.

In Florida, according to the Miami *Times*, there is being organized a Democrats for Eisenhower Club with a Negro being placed in charge of the Florida Negro section. In South Carolina the Republican party is dominantly white.

But the Negro political leaders in the above states indicate an overwhelming victory for Stevenson. In Georgia, Attorney A. T. Walden predicts that the vast majority of the 125,000 registered Negroes will back the Democrats. Attorney Arthur D. Shores of Birmingham, and president of the Alabama Progressive Democratic Association, predicts that the Stevenson-Sparkman ticket will receive a big majority of the 50,000 registered Negro voters in that state. In Florida, of the 120,913 Negroes registered, 112,868 of them are registered as Democrats. In South Carolina, I. S. Leevy, Columbia undertaker and former Negro Republican leader said "the young Negroes will stick to the Democrats." J. S. Hinton, state NAACP president, said "Negroes fought too hard to open the Democratic party to leave and they will stick with it during the 1952 campaign."

The above analysis might be construed as voting trends among Negroes at this time and barring a miracle one can conclude that the Negro vote in the Southeast will go Democratic as it did in 1948. Perhaps a straw in the wind in this direction is revealed by a recent poll conducted at the Atlanta University Summer School which showed a ratio of 3-1 in favor of Stevenson. The persons participating were drawn from an area that is so much greater than is covered in this paper. If anything, this poll is a conservative

(*Continued on page* 541)

■ Below is the NAACP report on the 82nd Congress

Elect Your Own Congress

By Julia Baxter

ONE hundred million American citizens are eligible to vote in federal and state elections on November 4 according to recent statistical surveys. But unless the trend of the past four years is sharply reversed, only about 52 percent of this number will actually cast ballots. Indifference is the reason most frequently advanced to explain the nation-wide lack of concern. Republicans (the South excepted), though numerically weaker, vote more consistently in these elections than do Democrats. To complicate the pattern, an estimated fifteen million unaffiliated voters, nearly one-third the national total, are expected at the polls. Consequently, choice of both president and congress is anyone's guess and the role of the individual elector grows in importance as November nears.

For both parties civil rights have become the "delicate" issue of the 1952 campaign. Democrats walk softly. They dare alienate neither a South committed to oppose federal civil rights legislation, nor a North amenable to its passage. Republicans, anxious to make inroads below the Mason-Dixon line, contend that correction of inequities in the treatment of minorities must remain the undisputed power of the separate states. Though most representatives and a third of the senators are fighting to return to Washington next year, neither party in the Congress just ended took particular pains to promote needed legislation improving the status of disadvantaged groups. If the coming Congress is to enact laws equalizing the rights of all Americans, unsympathetic legislators must be defeated. Minorities have a responsibility to themselves. They must vote in numbers greater than ever before.

The Negro is no exception. At present there are at least 8,500,000 colored voters. Yet only 31 percent went to the polls in 1948. Voting strength among negroes is 22 percent below the national average, suggesting perhaps, one reason why civil rights legislators in the Con-

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JULIA BAXTER *is director of the NAACP department of research.*

Arnold Newman

GOV. ADLAI STEVENSON
Democratic presidential candidate.

gress fall short of the numbers needed to effect pressing remedies.

NEGRO VOTERS

Negro voters as a whole do enjoy a position far stronger than other racial, religious, labor or liberal pressure groups. The value of their ballots in any closely contested congressional or senatorial election is no myth. In the past it has meant the difference between victory and defeat. Moreover, the Negro has learned to evaluate his candidates on the basis of attitude toward civil rights and liberal welfare legislation. Those residing in such northern and western pivotal states as New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, California, New Jersey and Massachusetts now vote in numbers exceeding by 10 percent the national average. Within the past four years only 38 percent failed to go to the polls. But the advantage must be increased. In the South legal as well as psychological barriers have not been completely circumvented. In spite of recent court successes only 15 percent of its Negro electorate exercised its right of franchise.

So don't underestimate the power of your vote. A tiny margin of one or two ballots have decided issues larger than many of us realize. Between 1949 and 1952 one vote more or less was the deciding factor in 41 Senate roll calls. Because seventeen of these were deadlock issues, the vice-president of the United States, presiding Senate officer, cast the deciding ballot. In addition, the Senate settled the fate of twenty-four other measures by a single vote. One of these was the 1952 ballot that pigeonholed the Alaska statehood bill. That senator may have been your own.

Consider the realities of a new administration. Select either party. Can minorities risk the possibility of a Senate deadlock on civil rights measures? Election of candidates committed to an effective pro-civil rights program is the strongest defensive weapon.

The lone vote assumes its greatest power in the local precinct. In 1948 the states of California and Ohio were carried by Democrat Harry Truman. Dewey lost California by 17,865 votes in 16,802 election precincts. He lost Ohio by 7,107 votes

in 9,247 precincts. The Akron *Beacon-Journal* pointed out: "The backing of Akron Negroes alone provided almost precisely President Truman's plurality in Ohio."

ROLE OF THE NAACP

Elmo Roper, noted public opinion analyst, in a recent NBC broadcast, released results of a study of the habits and effect of the Negro voter. A high 45 percent of the cross-section interviewed expressed confidence in the established NAACP practice of evaluating candidates to national office on the basis of tested performance. However, Mr. Roper continued: ". . . It is evident from these results that there are more Negroes who think of the NAACP as a source of at least potentially good advice on politics than actually come out on election day."

This year the NAACP through its many branches, South as well as North, undertook an aggressive campaign to increase the number and effectiveness of registered Negro voters. To its membership and to all who desire the election of liberal candidates it recommends the following action:

1. That Americans of every race, creed and color concentrate on registering and voting in the coming vital election.
2. That voters give careful attention to candidates for Senate and House of Representatives.
3. That regardless of party, voters support those candidates who have a good voting record on civil rights and other liberal legislation or those without a record who pledge for such measures.

GEN. DWIGHT EISENHOWER
Republican presidential candidate.

Every NAACP branch should receive and publicize replies from its candidates to the following questions:

SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES

1. Will you support fair employment practices legislation with enforcement powers?
2. Will you support measures to eliminate lynching, poll tax, segregation in the armed services, in travel, etc.?
3. Will you support safeguards against segregation in all federally aided programs for housing, education, recreation, etc.?

SENATORS ONLY

1. Will you support a motion to change Senate "Rule 22" in order to eliminate the filibuster?

REPRESENTATIVES ONLY

1. Will you vote to curb the power of the House Rules Committee so that it can no longer block civil rights and liberal legislation?
2. Will you oppose an extension of the life of the Cox Committee to investigate philanthropic organizations?

The NAACP's national office and its Washington bureau both maintain cumulative records summarizing the action taken by senators and representatives on liberal legislation. These are made available upon request and provide serviceable guidance on civil rights issues to everyone in need of information.

SENATORS SEEKING REELECTION IN 1952

THEIR VOTES ON CIVIL RIGHTS*

State	Senator	Supported Civil Rights	Opposed Civil Rights	Opportunities to support	Opponent
Ariz.	Ernest W. McFarland (D)	1	7	12	Barry M. Goldwater (R)
Calif.	William F. Knowland (R)	6	6	12	(Unopposed)
Conn.	William Benton[1] (D)	4	0	4	William A. Purtell[1] (R)
Conn.	(No Incumbent)				A. A. Ribicoff[2] (D)
					Prescot S. Bush (R)
Del.	John J. Williams (R)	6	5	12	Alexis D. Bayard (D)
Fla.	Spessard L. Holland (D)	0	12	12	John Booth (R)
Ind.	William E. Jenner (R)	5	2	12	Henry F. Stricker (D)
Ky.	Thomas R. Underwood[1] (D)	2	2	4†	John S. Cooper[2] (R)
Me.	(No Incumbent)			‡	Fred. G. Payne (R)
Md.	(No Incumbent)				J. Glenn Beall[2] (R)
					George P. Mahoney (D)
Mass.	Henry C. Lodge (R)	10	2	12	John F. Kennedy[2] (D)
Mich.	Blair Moody[1] (D)				Charles E. Potter[2] (R)
Minn.	Edward J. Thye (R)	5	6	12	William E. Carlson (D)
Miss.	John C. Stennis (D)	0	11	12	(Unopposed)
Mo.	James P. Kem	6	4	12	W. S. Symington (D)
Mont.	Zales N. Ecton (R)	3	9	12	M. J. Mansfield[2] (D)
Neb.	Hugh Butler (R)	6	5	12	Stanley D. Long (D)
Neb.	(No Incumbent)				Dwight Griswold (R)
					William Ritchie (D)
Nev.	George W. Malone (R)	4	6	12	Thos. W. Mechling (D)
N. J.	H. Alexander Smith (R)	7	3	12	A. S. Alexander (D)
N. M.	Dennis Chavez (D)	3	3	12	Patrick J. Hurley (R)
N. Y.	Irving M. Ives (R)	12	0	12	John Cashmore (D)
N. D.	William Langer (R)	9	1	12	Harold A. Morrison (D)

Ohio	John W. Bricker (R)	6	3	12	Michael A. DiSalle (D)
Pa.	Edward Martin (R)	7	4	12	Guy Kurtz Bard (D)
R. I.	John A. Pastore[1] (D)	1	0	1	
Tenn.	(No Incumbent)				Albert Gore[2] (D)
					Hobart Atkins (R)
Tex.	(No Incumbent)				Price Daniel (D)
					(Unopposed)
Utah	Arthur V. Watkins (R)	5	7	12	Walter K. Granger[3] (D)
Vt.	Ralph E. Flanders (R)	5	5	12	William Semeraro (D)
Va.	Harry F. Byrd (D)	0	12	12	(Unopposed)
Wash.	Harry P. Cain (R)	4	7	12	Henry Jackson[2] (D)
W. Va.	Harley M. Kilgore	7	5	12	Chapman Revercomb[3] (R)
Wis.	Joseph R. McCarthy (R)	6	2	12	Thos. E. Fairchild (D)
Wyo.	Jos. C. O'Mahoney (D)	3	6	12	Frank A. Barrett[4] (R)

* Record votes cast during full Senate term
1 Not member of Senate for full term
2 Member of House of Representatives
3 Ex-Senator
4 Ex-Representative
† Record in House of Representatives
‡ Elected September 8, 1952

PAST, PRESENT LEGISLATORS IN SENATE RACE*

	District		Supported Civil Rights	Opposed Civil Rights	Opportunities to support
Conn.	1	Rep. A. A. Ribicoff (D)	5	0	6
Ky.		Ex-Sen. John S. Cooper (R)	2	2	4
Md.	6	Rep. J. Glenn Beall (R)	4	4	8
Mass.	11	Rep. John F. Kennedy (D)	7	0	8
Mich.	11	Rep. Charles E. Potter (R)	3	3	7
Mont.	1	Rep. Michael Mansfield (D)	7	0	8
Tenn.	4	Rep. Albert Gore (D)	4	4	8
Utah	1	Rep. Walter K. Granger (D)	5	0	8
Wash.	2	Rep. Harold Jackson (D)	8	0	8
W. Va.		†Ex-Sen. Chapman Revercomb (R)	6	2	12
Wyo.	AL	Ex-Rep. Frank A. Barrett (R)	3	3	6

* Record votes cast in 80-82nd Congress
† Revercomb votes based on attendance 78-80th Congress

Editorials

OCTOBER NUMBER

EVERY four years *The Crisis* publishes the records of presidential candidates and congressmen on civil rights. We also publish official articles expressing the views of both major parties, the Democrats and the Republicans. This year we have the customary Republican piece; but the Democrats, although they promised one, had not delivered by press time. We likewise wish to stress the fact that none of the articles in this number of the magazine is to be construed as representing the views of *The Crisis* or the NAACP

POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY

ONCE again the American people are presented with the opportunity and confronted with the responsibility of exercising that most precious of democratic rights — the free choice of the men who will guide the destiny of the nation. This is an opportunity and a responsibility which no American who holds dear his rights and privileges can afford to forego. To neglect to vote in this crucial election is to reject the essence of democracy and to abdicate one's citizenship.

A platitude in American political life is the obligation to vote for the welfare of the country. No doubt every voter believes that his vote is in the public interest, no matter for which candidates or what party he casts his ballot. The identification of personal or group interest with the national welfare is universal. What benefits the individual voter is held a benefit for all.

The fact is, the composite American electorate represents many conflicting interests. Even within the two major parties there are sharp conflicts of interests. The absence in this country of clear-cut party lines obscures the basic issues and confuses the voters, with Democrats and Republicans alike lined up on both sides of many questions. In most countries abroad party labels are more meaningful than in America where we have a Senator Byrd and a Senator Humphrey in the same party and likewise a Senator Taft and a Senator Morse under the same banner. In such a political picture, confusion is inevitable.

THE conflicts in the American electorate are rooted in economic stratification; sectional differences; racial, nationality and religious factors. Because our society is basically democratic there is much overlapping of interests. The trade unionist is a consumer as well as a producer. He may also be a member of a minority racial or religious group or both. Occasionally

he is a landlord. But he is also an American. Similarly the individual farmer, merchant, manufacturer or professional person is confronted with this criss-cross of personal, group and national interests.

Perhaps the voter who can afford to be the most consistent is the Negro. Historically, he is the symbol of the struggle between property rights and human rights. Either passively or actively he has, from the very beginning of the Republic, been in the forefront of the fight for the extension of human rights. This is the historic fight of the liberals under whatever party or group label. The liberal is one who places human rights above property rights and beyond the pale of sham legalisms.

The political struggle to establish the priority of human rights which flowered in the Abolition movement, and reached an inconclusive climax in the Civil War, continues today in the fight for civil rights. Reduced to its simplest terms the pursuit of civil rights is the demand for the subordination of vested property rights to human rights. Progress in this direction has been slow, but continuous. There was a time when an employer had no responsibility for an injury sustained by a worker on the job. Workmen's compensation legislation has corrected that evil. There was a time when employers were free to set wages at any level. Minimum wages have been established by federal legislation for companies engaged in interstate commerce.

IT took political action to gain these objectives. It will take political action to curb the power of employers to discriminate in employment on the basis of race, color, religion or national origin. To victims of such barriers the elimination of the employers' property right to discriminate is the prime objective. It means the difference between having a job and being unemployed; between being promoted on merit and being kept in a low-paying position regardless of qualifications; between an advancing standard of living and being kept at subsistence level.

But legislative objectives are only won through political action and political action entails registering and voting. The struggle to enhance human rights can most effectively be advanced through intelligent and consistent political action. Such activity does not end with voting. Bitter experience has taught Negroes that any federal legislation can be killed by the filibuster in the Senate. Our first political objective then is the elimination of the deadly filibuster. To this end, the NAACP is calling upon all its branches and state conferences to submit to United States senators and candidates for that office in their respective states the following question:

> Will you as a member of the United States Senate actively support and vote for a motion to establish majority rule in the United States Senate, January 3, 1953, by the adoption of rules, including a new Rule 22, providing for action by majority vote of members present and voting after full opportunity for reasonable debate?

The answer to this question should be an important factor in determining for which senatorial candidate you will cast your vote.

Looking and Listening . . .

FARMERS

HERE is an interesting bit of news from the U. S. Department of Agriculture. In Beaufort county, South Carolina, a marketing cooperative operated by Negro farmers has sold $316,000 worth of tomatoes this year. One reason for their success is that they have grown better tomatoes than in the past and they have gotten them to market earlier.

A group of colored farmers in Florida, according to district agent J. A. Gresham of the Florida Extension Service, are operating their own irrigation system. Among this group is Elijah McMillon of Chattahoochee, a producer of shade-grown tobacco, who took the lead in organizing the irrigation cooperative in his community. He and his neighbors own a gasoline-powered pump and nearly half a mile of pipes to convey water from branches of the Chattahoochee river to their farms. This saved their crops this year.

The United States Department of Agriculture also reports that the farm population of the Mississippi Delta, which is nearly 80 percent Negro, may decline as much as 67 percent by 1970.

Recent improvements in technology are removing the barriers to full mechanization of cotton production. The improved cotten picker and improvements in the ginning process make mechanical picking entirely feasible and more economical. If machines are widely used, the farm population of the Delta is almost sure to decrease.

"OFF-LIMITS"

ALTHOUGH this item from *The Noble County American* (March 27, 1952), Albion, Indiana, is dated, we reproduce it because it reveals the often repressive conditions under which Negroes have to work. In March the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad imported a large Negro labor force into Albion for the purpose of reconstruction work on its road between Albion and Syracuse.

Because Albion always has been 'off-limits' for colored people [explains *The Noble County American*] many of our residents do not look on this importation with kindness. Bearing this in mind our town's authorities have issued an order to the effect that these railroad employees must remain on the railroad property. An adequate number of special armed deputies are or will be sworn in to cope with any situation which may arise, so that those of our people who fear outlawry on the part of these importees may rest assured they are amply protected day and night.

Policing Albion is basically the obligation of our town's authorities. How-

ever, in an interview with Sheriff Charles Haase we were assured he would willingly throw the power of his office into action any time it may be needed. As an added precaution, Your Reporter suggests that every family keep a loaded and reliable gun at hand in the home, but, of course, in a place where it can not endanger the lives of children. In other words, if Albion feels it will be safer to be an armed camp for the duration of the stay of these workmen — we'll be an armed camp, for the first law of nature is to protect home, family and self.

APARTHEID

A FEW months ago Richard B. Stephenson of the University of New Mexico NAACP college chapter wrote letters to several South African newspapers expressing concern over increasing racial tension and racial segregation (apartheid) in that country.

"Since the NAACP is interracial and I am white," wrote Mr. Stephenson, "I should like to address a few points to your white readers. We in the United States are conscious of our nation's own bad record in respect of treatment of racial and religious minorities, so we don't write you in any spirit of condescension, but in a spirit of humility and understanding of your problem.

"We have heard that many whites in South Africa fear to grant the Negro the same equal status because of the Negro's numerical superiority, fearing the suppression of the white race. The same reason for discrimination is often voiced by whites in our own South against every relaxation of the color bar, but in every instance where the bars were let down the feared evil consequences did not materialize. We in the United States have learned that the rights and privileges of all citizens are in danger when those of another class are taken away or denied. . . . Our experience has taught us that the road you are traveling will be disastrous to you. . . ."

Herewith are excerpts from some of the replies to Mr. Stephenson's letter:

Your letter to the newspapers in South Africa has given great encouragement to many of our friends in that country. . . . May I add, as an emigrant South African, how very much the steps you have taken are appreciated. Any expression of a broader, humanitarian approach to racial problems, wherever they are a cause of oppression, bitterness and hatred, is an act of courage and foresight and deserves the thanks of all people of good feeling. The comparatively few people in South Africa who are trying to do something to improve the distrust and fear so prevalent between the various racial groups need now, more than ever before, all the encouragement and good will from all over the world. . . .

We do not know if you realize the almost insuperable difficulties which liberal South Africans face. . . .

One correspondent replied:

[Your letter] came as a breath of fresh air in our very oppressive political atmosphere. To those of us who are trying (very ineffectively) to oppose racialism it is heartening to learn that there are people outside the Union who think as you do and who are willing to say what they think. . . .

Another correspondent wanted:

To know how you people at your end of the globe set about resolving racial issues. . . .

The most stirring letter came from

a former governor-general of Basutoland:

We are leaving Basutoland at the end of October this year, and I am ending my connection of over 11 years with the services here. . . . The reason is that I am a white South African, living in South Africa, and that this is not a time when any South African can sit aside and watch his country progressing towards disaster. He may not alone be able to do very much to stop it, but he must still do what lies within his power to stop it. . . .

White supremacy is doomed for three main reasons. The first is that our nonwhites are learning in schools and in factories the culture and skills of the Western World, and they are learning fast. You cannot keep a man down if he is worthy of rising. The second is that the whole weight of the opinion of the world is against it. Unless you organize a state like the USSR you cannot keep out the operation of world opinion. . . . The third reason is that it is in South Africa's fundamental economic interests to allow its nonwhites to acquire skills and to do better work. It is a process that is already far further advanced than people realise, and that can only go on gaining momentum. . . .

I have always been interested in the NAACP — ever since reading Gunnar Myrdal's *American Dilemma* when it first came out. I have always hoped the NAACP might get interested in South Africa, as there is a great job to be done. . . .

WHO'S WHO

WHO is a "colored person"? Apparently South African officials, despite liberal use of the term in apartheid legislation, do not know. For although census figures give the Union of South Africa 1,100,000 colored, we find the commissioner for colored affairs, Dr. I. D. duPlessis, asking the public to help him find a comprehensive definition of "colored person."

Various acts define colored persons in various ways: descent, appearance, or association. Now Dr. duPlessis is suggesting, tentatively, that "European," "Native" (black), and "Asiatic" be defined mainly by descent. The Asiatics would include the Cape Malay group, who would be 'Moslem colored persons, mainly with Malay infusion.'

A colored person would then be a person other than a European, Native, or Asiatic, or one accepted as such, and of mixed descent — but excluding Asiatic descent.

Further irony, even in successive apartheid laws such as the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, Immorality Amendment Act, and Population Registration Act, the Malan government has used different definitions of a "colored person."

Here's another paradox. Older Legislation makes it possible for one man to belong to three different races. He may be "white" under the electoral laws, "colored" for purposes of the pension laws, and a "Native" (black) in terms of the Natives Urban Areas Act.

What is going to happen when the Population Registration Act is enforced and every South African is given a 'racial card"?

POPULATION CHANGES

WE quote the following significant facts from Paul F. Coe's "Nonwhite Population Changes," is-

sued by the Federal Housing Administration division of research and statistics:

According to preliminary counts of the Bureau of the Census, the 150,697,000 total population of the United States in April 1950 included 15,482,000 nonwhite persons. Of the nonwhite total, 14,894,000, or 96.2 percent, were Negroes. The greater number of the remaining 588,000 nonwhites were American Indians, with Japanese and Chinese next most prevalent.

The nonwhite population increased at a faster rate than did the white—15.1 percent compared with 14.4 percent—as a consequence of both a relatively higher nonwhite birth rate and a nonwhite death rate that declined faster than did the white. . . .

About 9,389,000 of the nonwhite population in 1950 resided in urban places, 2,756,000 in rural non-farm areas, and 3,336,000 on rural farms. Although these numbers indicate a percentage distribution rather similar to that of the white population, a relatively greater number of nonwhites than whites were still living on farms in 1950—22 percent against 15 percent. . . .

About 10,300,000, or two-thirds of all nonwhites in 1950, lived in the South. Although percentage-wise this indicates a decline from the more than 74 percent living in the South in 1940, the actual number of nonwhite persons in the South increased by 309,000, or 3 percent, over the decade. White persons in the South, however, increased by 17 percent. In fact, the South is the only region in which the rate of increase for the nonwhite population was lower than that for the white. . . .

Nonwhite persons have been gravitating to the large centers of population, and more especially to the central cities of those areas. Thus, from 1940 to 1950 the nonwhite population living inside standard metropolitan areas increased to 8,251,000, or by 44 percent, while the nonwhite population outside these areas actually declined by half a million, or 7 percent. . . . This tendency further concentrated the nonwhites in the more congested areas of the cities. . . .

FIGHT JIM CROW

THE United Packinghouse Workers of America (CIO) have issued an informative, graphically illustrated 24-page booklet titled *Action against Jim Crow*. The booklet tells the story of the fight waged by the UPWA for equal rights inside plants in which they work and in the communities in which they live.

OVERSEAS PRESS

THE fight against French exploitation of colonial labor, especially African, started by the late Jules Alcandre is being continued by his son Sylvère Alcandre through the pages of his newspaper *Europe-Colonies*. The latest issue to reach our desk carries a detailed analysis of the French overseas labor code. In practice, claims Mr. Alcandre, this code often means forced labor for nonwhites.

In Togoland, French West Africa, Mensan Aihtson publishes the newspaper *Negreta* as a weapon in the Togolanders fight for independence. The paper reports conditions in the colonies as well as the repressive actions of the French.

In Paris Simon Wichene edits *Nos Combats*, official organ of l'Union International Antiraciste

(International Antiracist Union), in the fight against racism. Special attention is given to African colonial problems.

SOMALI YOUTH LEAGUE

THE following extract, taken from the confidential report of a Frenchman who has recently visited the Italian-operated Somaliland trust territory, was published in the July 5, 1952 issue of *New Times and Ethiopia News*:

The Administration has conducted a war to the knife against the Somali Youth League. Many of its best men are in prison or exile. All employees of the state, soldiers, etc., are given strict orders to dissociate themselves from SYL activities. No known SYL sympathiser receives justice in the courts or in dealings with the Administration. Many former Somali soldiers have been denied pensions on this score. The Administration is still hunting down the instigators of the 1948 anti-Italian riot (which took place under the British).

Latest victim of their witch-hunt is said to be one Elmi Hassan Farad Guled, disappeared last year and who is believed to have been beaten-up by 'carabinieri' during his incarceration in Mogadishu and Lugh Ferrandi jails.

There have been many cases of the confiscation of Somali Youth League property and the closing down of branch offices. In the Mijertain and also at Alula there are reports of Italian troops forcibly taking over SYL houses. It takes a brave man to express support for the SYL in Mogadishu to-day. . . .

In 1949-1950, the NAACP assisted Somali Youth League delegates in their efforts at UN to prevent return of their country to Italy.

O. D. JAMES (*center*), *freed after* 8 *years in San Quentin, shakes hands with John Adams, of San Francisco branch, who helped secure his release. Looking on is branch president R. J. Reynolds* (*right*).

C. L. R. JAMES, *brilliant author and lecturer, is one of two Negroes scheduled by The Institute of Arts and Sciences of Columbia University for a six-lecture series this fall. Discussing human personality in great tragedy, Mr. James traces the development of human personality in the masterpieces of Shakespeare, Milton, Rousseau, Melville, and Dostoevsky.*

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

POLITICAL

Board Evaluates Presidential Candidates: At its regular monthly meeting on September 8, the NAACP board of directors adopted the following resolution evaluating the presidential and vice-presidential candidates of both major political parties:

The board of directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has examined the platform of the two major political parties and members of the board and the staff have interviewed both presidential candidates, particularly with respect to civil rights. The NAACP is politically non-partisan. But it has a responsibility to express its judgment and the board in doing so operates under a mandate from the annual convention to obtain and place the facts before the public and especially its own membership.

In compliance with that mandate and responsibility, the following is the measured opinion of the board of directors at this time.

The most forthright position taken by any of the presidential and vice-presidential candidates of the two major political parties has been that of Governor Adlai E. Stevenson, who has made clear his support of efforts to abolish the filibuster through amendment of Senate Rule 22, his support for FEPC with enforcement provisions, and other necessary steps to abolish racial and religious discrimination. We commend the clarity and courage of his pronouncements.

We are impressed by General Eisenhower's sincerity in his pronouncements against segregation and discrimination and we commend his forthright statements on the abolition of segregation in the nation's capital, in the Armed Forces and his concern for equal employment opportunities for all. We regret, however, his failure to support an effective federal FEPC with enforcement provisions, and to make clear his position on an amendment to Senate Rule 22 to abolish the filibuster.

On the question of civil rights, both vice-presidential candidates, Senator John J. Sparkman and Senator Richard M. Nixon, have unsatisfactory records.

We can only view with grave concern their presence on the major political party tickets, where in the event of the death of the president, one of them would become the Chief Executive of the nation.

The board of directors urges General Eisenhower and Senators Nixon and Sparkman to re-examine their positions and announce themselves clearly in favor of federal action to abolish racial and religious discrimination and segregation, and to curb filibusters through revision of the present Wherry-Hayden cloture rule which makes it impossible to pass civil rights legislation.

Should any of these three candidates so announce themselves, the board of directors will re-examine their positions and make further reports.

The board of directors makes the following recommendations to the Association's members:

(1) That Americans of every race,creed and color concentrate on registering and voting in the coming vital election; (2) That voters give careful attention to candidates for the Senate and House of Representatives regardless of party, supporting those candidates who have a good voting record on civil rights and other liberal legislation, or those without a record who pledge to vote for such measures.

Registration: The Association also asked its 1200 branches in 45 states to prepare for an intensive fall registration campaign. Because civil rights is one of the hottest political issues, the branches were urged to conduct an all-out campaign for a nationwide registration of 5,000,000 Negro voters under the slogan "Register Today for Civil Rights."

EDUCATION

University of Florida: The suit to get Negro students into the University of Florida is apparently headed back to the U. S. Supreme Court, following the decision of the Supreme Court of Florida in refusing to order the acceptance of colored applicants by the all-white university.

The Florida court dismissed the suit and held that equal educational facilities are afforded Negro students at the Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College at Tallahassee. When the cases were originally filed in May, 1949, there were no graduate or professional courses offered at Florida A and M College. After Negro students had applied for such courses, they were ordered instituted at the Negro school.

An appeal for review of the case by the U. S. Supreme Court was subsequently denied, the court refusing to grant the petition for review on the ground that no final judgment or order had been issued by the lower court.

Bans Race Questions: Questions of race and religion were eliminated from all registration forms at New York University with the beginning of the fall school term.

Assurance that such designations would be dropped were given by Dr. Henry T. Heald, chancellor of the university, to Herbert L. Wright, youth secretary of the Association. In a conference with Mr. Wright, Dr. Heald said that the new registration forms will omit the questions entirely. Meanwhile students will not be required to state their race or religion on the current forms.

The elimination of these questions culminates a two-year campaign by the NAACP chapter at NYU, now headed by Alexander Foster, a third-year student preparing to enter the university law school.

Chancellor Heald also informed Mr. Wright that the guard staff and other service personnel at the university would be integrated. As a result of the killing of Enus L. Christianii, a student, by a university guard, the chancellor agreed to the proposal to give all guards at the university special training in human relations at the New York City Police Training Institute.

What the Branches Are Doing

Alabama: Rose Marie Harris won the $50 United States savings bond in the annual baby contest conducted by the TUSKEGEE branch. She reported $560.81, which gave her top honors. Total from the babies was $1,066.22, and the contest committee itself raised an additional $181.85.

California: The SAN DIEGO branch gave a convention tea in June at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Willie Powell to launch the branch membership campaign as well as to raise money to send delegates to the annual convention in Oklahoma City June 24-29. Anyone who turned in 100 memberships was given a free trip to the convention.

The branch membership drive was helped by three members from the West Coast regional office: Mrs. Ethel Ray Nance, administrative assistant to the regional director; Claire Johnson, regional youth director; and Lester Bailey, assistant field secretary.

Garfield Johnson and Clarence Rucker, branch youth delegates to the first annual youth conference on civil rights held at Asilomar in May, returned with so much enthusiasm that they have set to work to revive the local youth council, which had died for lack of leadership.

The following persons have been unanimously elected to fill vacancies on the executive committee of the San Diego branch: Earl Brooks, Marshall Dunlap, Gerald Nolan, Mrs. Willie Roberson, and Atty. Tom Sherrard.

West Coast regional director Franklin H. Williams sent out a pre-convention inquiry to Republican and Democratic delegations from Washington, Oregon, California, Arizona, Nevada, Idaho, and Utah asking their position on civil rights while reminding them that it was the Negro vote in pivotal states that swung the election to Mr. Truman in 1948.

The ALAMEDA COUNTY branch, through co-chairman C. L. Dellums of its labor and industry committee, has expressed dissatisfaction with the alleged proposal of Oakland fire chief James Burke for the "gradual elimination of segregation in the Oakland fire department.

District of Columbia: Chairman E. B. Henderson of the DISTRICT branch sent out a letter in June thanking everyone who helped "to make the 1952 membership drive a success. Whenever you read of the work of the NAACP for the extension of democracy each of you should realize that you contributed much to this effort."

Mr. Henderson also calls attention to a little known historical fact, that citizens of the District of Columbia petitioned the city council of Washington on May 2, 1870, asking for a "bill for the reorganization of the public schools in the District of Columbia" to give the citizens "one common school system by which all children can be educated,

regardless of their color, to be governed by one board of trustees." The resolution was never acted upon.

Illinois: Segregation was ended at Lake Springfield beaches on July 14 following a conference between Commissioner John H. Hunter and a committee representing the LAKE SPRINGFIELD branch. The commissioner acceded to the branch plea that he enforce the provisions of a state law passed in 1885 and amended in 1937 protecting all citizens in their legal rights and requiring public officials to see that all persons have equal access to public recreation areas. The branch conferences regarding segregation at the Lake beaches began a year ago.

The branch committee which conferred with the commissioner was composed of Kenneth Barton, branch president; Bishop Charles A. Clough, of the Springfield Episcopal diocese; Dr. D. E. Webster; and attorneys Sylvester Carter and Robert Myers, of the branch legal redress committee.

Two years ago the Park Board, under branch pressure, abolished segregation at Memorial Pool.

Michigan: Dr. James J. McClendon of the DETROIT branch and a member of the NAACP national board, addressed the seventh convention of the United Furniture Workers of America at Grand Rapids, Mich., on June 12. Dr. McClendon outlined the work of the NAACP, particularly in terms of its cooperation with organized labor, while stressing the importance of a political candidate's position on civil rights.

Mississippi: The following are excerpts from a letter addressed by Dr. B. E. Murph, president of the LAUREL branch, to chief NAACP counsel, Thurgood Marshall:

"I would like to call your attention to a very pertinent fact which prevailed at Oklahoma City. It may have existed unintentionally. The workshops were for the most part demonstrations of what was pertinent to metropolitan centers. The problems that prevail in the rural, Deep South and small-town branches are quite different. . . . I must confess that very few of the methods I heard discussed could be used in my branch and I was told by many other delegates that the same thing was true of them.

"I speak now of the branches of the Deep South, especially branches in the state of Mississippi. We should be regarded as the heroes of the NAACP. We are called upon to parade the banner of the NAACP under the very noses of the Dixiecrats, State Righters, and race baiters. We are called upon to submit ourselves to the same treatment as that received by the late Harry T. Moore and his wife. The NAACP is about as welcome as a rattlesnake in these circles. And yet we go about the business of the NAACP without fear and with bold assertion. We have very little support from our white citizens, and I would say that about 90 percent of the Negroes in our state are skeptical. . . . Many of our people are afraid to be seen at an NAACP meeting. . . . Yet we are willing to fight and fight uncompromisingly. . . ."

New York: Among the projects of the BROOKLYN branch is a campaign to enroll Turbo Village, N. Y., as a life member in the Association. First installment on a village life membership was made in June when Dick Simon of Turbo Village signed a check for $100.

Some 200 persons gathered at Green Lakes, a state park near Syracuse, to attend an interracial family picnic sponsored on August 2 by the SYRACUSE branch educational committee under the chairmanship of Charles Willie. Four community groups representing different

racial and religious groups co-sponsored the picnic, and among their guests were 40 foreign students from Europe and the Near and Far East.

Pennsylvania: Mrs. Marion B. Jordon, formerly an assistant field secretary in the national office, is the newly selected executive secretary of the PITTSBURGH branch.

The PHILADELPHIA branch reports a membership now in excess of 6,700 as result of a very successful membership drive. Next branch job is launching the area development project. Planned as a method for carrying the NAACP program into more Philadelphia homes and making a greater number of people active in the work of the branch, the project calls for dividing the city into six areas with twenty-seven sections or subdivisions. Leaders of these units, selected by the branch, will form an area development committee under the chairmanship of George Morris and Alvin White, of the branch board.

In July executive secretary Charles Shorter wrote to police commissioner Thomas Gibbons that shooting Negroes had degenerated into an amusement for policemen. "The recent killings by members of our police force in too many instances have been uncalled for," Mr. Shorter wrote; and then he cited two unjustified recent killings by "gun-happy" policemen.

The branch has also asked for punitive action against a Greyhound bus driver who had Mrs. Ann Franklin of Philadelphia removed by State Troopers from his bus near Coatesville, Pa., when she refused to give up her seat to a white woman.

The PHILADELPHIA branch has gone into court in an attempt to force the Boulevard Pool, Boulevard and Princeton Avenues, to open its facilities to Negroes. Charging violation of the state equal rights law, Atty. James Baker, of the branch legal committee, filed a bill in equity in common pleas court asking an injunction restraining the owners and management of the pool from denying its use to anyone because of race or color.

As result of the experience of an Air Force sergeant, the branch has asked the Pennsylvania Railroad for a clear-cut statement on its policy of pullman accommodations for Negroes. The soldier, S/Sgt. George Baker of the 575th Air Force Police Squadron, Selfridge Air Force Base, Mich., charged that he was denied a lower berth to Detroit, when it was discovered that he was a Negro, after the reservation had been confirmed by telephone.

The Philadelphia branch received a $200 contribution in August from the Deborah Grand Chapter, Order of the Eastern Star, Prince Hall Affiliation, Philadelphia.

Rhode Island: First executive board meeting of the NEW ENGLAND regional conference, under its newly elected officers, was held at the John Hope Center, Providence, on July 1 as guests of the PROVIDENCE branch.

Tennessee: Cortland Rhea of the JOHNSON CITY branch reports the death of Ulysses Oliver, for many years president of the Tennessee state conference of NAACP branches.

The KNOXVILLE branch, despite many adverse conditions, had the largest membership in Tennessee for 1951. The branch also has the largest youth council in the state.

Virginia: The FAIRFAX COUNTY branch held a membership report meeting on June 30.

The branch also reports the effective interracial work of Mrs. Sarah Patton Boyle of Charlottesville, Virginia. Mrs. Boyle challenges the concept "that Southerners are irreconcilable to changes in racial mores."

EXCEPTIONAL *youth council worker, Harriett Schley, receives* $100 *scholarship from Knoxville, Tenn., branch president Mrs. Netherland. DICK SIMON of Turbo Village, N. Y., signs check for* $100 *life membership in the NAACP. The entire village plans to become an NAACP life member.*

College and School News

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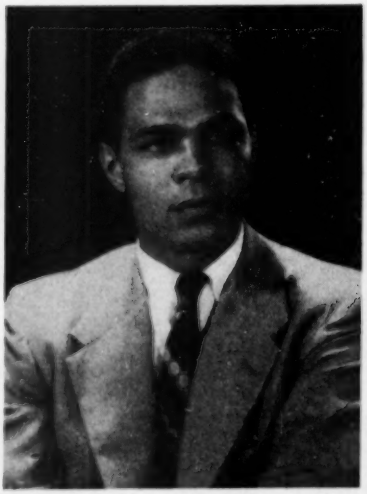

MILTON CLAY *of Cornwall, Conn., is the assistant headmaster of Cornwall Academy. He joined the faculty as director of athletics and mathematics instructor and was promoted to his present position on the basis of achievement and qualifications.*

G. H. Ferguson of the North Carolina department of public instruction was summer session commencement speaker at SHAW UNIVERSITY on July 31. Thirty-three degrees were awarded, 23 bachelor of arts and 10 bachelor of science.

■

Two campus construction projects, costing an estimated $225,000, have been given final approval by the

LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Pa.) trustee board.

The major item is the addition of a wing to the Vail Memorial library, for which $145,000 has been appropriated. The extension will provide additional stack space to bring library capacity to 90,000 volumes, will include three new reading rooms, and make it possible to provide seminar rooms, an exhibition room, and a micro-film room. Another $80,000 has been provided to replace the existing steam heating lines.

■

Representatives of VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE were among educators from eleven colleges and universities who spent July 8-9 at Fort Lee, Virginia, observing the Quartermaster ROTC summer camp training program. Dr. Albert T. Harris, director of field services, was designated by President Daniel to represent the college. He was accompanied by Major Crawford H. Lydle, Jr., professor of military science and tactics, and Captain Jesse J. Johnson, a member of the college ROTC staff on duty with the summer camp.

Three 1952 graduates of VSC, all outstanding music majors, have been signed by the de Paur Infantry Chorus of New York City for its coming tour. They are James Wade of Richmond, and William Crump and Talmadge Tagg of Newport News, Virginia.

Hulon Willis, assistant football coach at Booker T. Washington high school, Norfolk, Virginia, has accepted the position of assistant coach at VSC.

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inar in current economic problems this fall. Under the direction of Dr. Wilson Williams, the seminar is designed to promote understanding of the major economic issues facing America.

Dr. Harry Roberts, head of the department of sociology, attended the statistical summer session of the Virginia Polytechnic Institute held at Blacksburg, Virginia, July 29-August 15.

Leon Thompson, a VSC graduate, has been awarded the degree of Master of Music by the University of Rochester.

■

Grants and contracts totaling $33,811 have been received to date by the George Washington Carver Foundation at TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE for research during the academic year 1952-1953. Grants and contracts are from the National Science Foundation, Damon Runyon Memorial Fund for Cancer Research, Inc., International Minerals and Chemical Corporation, National Institutes of Health, Research Corporation, The Upjohn Company, Office of Ordnance Research, National Institute of Health (FSA), American Cancer Society, Inc., and Parker Pen Company.

Mrs. Edith Sampson was summer school commencement speaker at end of the ten-week summer session. Master of science degrees were awarded to 5, master of education to 48, bachelor of science to 71, and trade certificates and diplomas to 11.

■

Summer session convocation of WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE was held August 22, with James Evans, civilian assistant to the secretary of defense, as convocation speaker. There were 62 graduates.

Dr. C. Reed Hill, chief of the Liberia branch of the technical branch of the Technical Cooperation Administration, was consultant and director.

The college department of health,

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physical education and safety conducted a driver education workshop July 28-August 8, with experts in traffic problems serving as lecturers and advisors.

■

After ten years of the quarter system, HOWARD UNIVERSITY returned to the semester system in September. The accelerated quarter system, which was introduced in 1942 to meet the critical wartime and postwar need for qualified men and women, made it possible for the university to graduate 5,658 students during the past decade.

Under the new system two basic changes will come about: (1) the school year will comprise two 18-week sessions instead of the three 12-week sessions of the quarter system, and (2) fulltime students will carry five 3-hour courses rather than three 5-hour courses. No changes in total fees will be necessitated by the change. Under the semester system most of the university's ten schools and colleges will begin classes approximately two weeks earlier than in the past.

Beginning in September, male freshman and undergraduate women students at the university, whose parents do not reside in the Washington area, were required to live in the school dormitories.

Professor Flemie Kittrell of the department of home economics, who recently served as a representative to the International Missionary Council at Willingen, Germany, reported on the findings of the conference. Dr. Kittrell served as a specialist in home and family life for the conference.

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Otto McClarrin, acting director of public relations at Howard, received two international awards in the 1952 Magazine Competition sponsored by the American Alumni Council, an organization made up of representatives of more than 600 colleges and universities in the United States and Canada. Mr. McClarrin, editor of the Howard University Bulletin, received the awards "for significant editorial achievement in the field of alumni magazine publishing." He is the only Negro to receive an award from the council.

Howard has been able to work out a plan to reduce food costs to students. Under this plan parents and students may save from $11.50 to $21.50 a month. It will be conducted on an experimental basis until the Christmas recess, and after that its continuance will depend on student response.

■

Talks by Dr. Wesley Lyda, director of the ATLANTA UNIVERSITY school of education and Rev. Homer McEwen, pastor of the first Congre-

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gational church, Atlanta; and the presentation of two one-act plays; were among the activities of the university summer school.

According to a report of Dr. Virginia Jones, director of the school of library service, 213 students took one or more courses in library service during the smmer session.

Atlanta has awarded fourteen special fellowships for the school year 1952-1953 in the graduate school of library service. The fellowships are made possible by a special grant of the Carnegie Corporation of New York through which Atlanta is enabled to offer $25,000 in scholarships over a period of five years.

The university had a timely exhibit of "The Negro in Politics" at the Trevor Arnett library in August. One feature of the exhibit displayed the increasingly important role of the Negro woman in politics.

■

A gay summer get-together party for the alumnae of SPELMAN COLLEGE was held on the campus on August 2, from 7 until 10 P.M. President Florence Read was hostess to the more than 75 guests and their husbands.

■

A "working convention" of the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS, an affiliate of the American Federation of Labor, was held in Syracuse, N. Y., August 18-22. The convention theme was "The role of

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the classroom teacher in democratic education." Former federal Judge J. Waties Waring was the guest speaker.

▫

Over 300 seniors at SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY received bachelor degrees this year, with Lester B. Granger as the commencement speaker.

The university has started a freshman forum series to stimulate student interest in current problems.

■

Reinaldo Gesty, president of the Cuban Civic Front and secretary of the Social Labor Movement of Cuba, was a recent visitor to ALABAMA STATE COLLEGE where he conferred with teachers in economics, political science, and business.

■

The 1952 Lutheran Institute on Human Relations was held at VALPARAISO UNIVERSITY July 28-30, with an impressive roster of nationally known speakers.

■

An elementary education workshop was a feature of the second summer session at ALBANY STATE COLLEGE.

Among recent speakers and visitors at Albany State were Mrs. Beatrice Crowell of India; Dr. Milton S. J. Wright, professor of political science at Wilberforce; Mrs. A. T. Clark, instructor at the Hazard Practice school; and J. S. Wilkerson, president of the Georgia Teachers and Education Association.

Mrs. Margaret Bowens, wife of Bishop Bowens of Atlanta, displayed

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an African art exhibit in the Hazard Practice school on July 30.

■

The thirtieth annual meeting of Southern Coaches and Officials Association was held at MOREHOUSE COLLEGE September 5-6, with the Quarterback Club of Atlanta playing host to the visitors.

■

President A. W. Dent of DILLARD UNIVERSITY has announced the appointment of Dr. Warren H. Brothers as professor of mathematics for the fall session. Professor Brothers, a graduate of Talladega, holds a Ph.D. from the University of Michigan.

Dr. Benjamin Quarles, dean of instruction and professor of history at Dillard, has just completed his manuscript on the role of the Negro in the Civil War. The volume will be published by Little, Brown and Company of Boston in early 1953.

■

A sub-editor of the *People's Voice* at Lagos, Nigeria, has won the seventh annual Robert S. Abbott memorial scholarship in journalism at LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Mo.). Babatunde Oluwole Ogunbanke will receive $500 in cash from the *Chicago Defender*, award donor, and a three-months' summer internship with the *Defender* at the close of his scholarship year.

Commencement convocation of the summer session at Lincoln was held August 7, with Dr. I. B. Bryant of Texas Southern university, as principal speaker.

"I am going to be a responsible citizen because . . ." is the subject for the 1953 national scholastic essay contest conducted by the university school of journalism. Prizes will total $250 in cash. Any high school student may compete by writing 1,000 words on the subject and sending in the entry to the Lincoln University School of Journalism by March 1, 1953.

■

W. Dickerson Donnelly, FISK UNIVERSITY alumni secretary, attended the annual meeting of the American Alumni Council at Sun Valley, Idaho, July 14-17. This council is composed of people engaged directly in college and university alumni programs.

■

Commencement exercises of the WEST KENTUCKY VOCATIONAL TRAINING SCHOOL were held July 31, with Thomas Young of the *Norfolk Journal & Guide* as principal speaker.

■

The NATIONAL SCHOLARSHIP SERVICE AND FUND FOR NEGRO STUDENTS announces award of the following supplementary scholarships: the Edwin R. Embree memorial scholarship awards, ranging in value from $250 to $400 each, were made to four boys and girls; the John Tennyson awards, ranging in value from $300 to $400, to three boys and girls; and eleven supplementary scholarships of $250 to $400 each to girls at eight eastern women's colleges. All the awards were announced by Dr. Robert C. Weaver, chairman of the NSSFNS's supplementary scholarship fund board of trustees.

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Book Reviews

DEEP SOUTH

***South of Freedom.* By Carl T. Rowan. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952. 270 pp. $3.50.**

In the years 1946 and 1947 journalism's coveted Pulitzer prize was passed out to a pair of lukewarm liberal editors — Hodding Carter of Greenville, Mississippi's *Delta-Democrat Times* and Virginius Dabney of the Richmond *Times Dispatch* — for their editorial position on race relations in their native South. That what they offered — a "solution" within the framework of segregation — should have been deemed worthy of such mention is in itself a notable aspect of the problems which elicited their sophistry. But the prestige of the awards they received has led to a virtual monopoly (which tends to shut out open debate) by them, or advocates of their position, of any "newsworthy" comment on race relations in certain highly influential and widely circulated journals. Naturally, the logical effect of this situation poses the possibility of a paralysis of the American conscience in the area of human rights.

Carl T. Rowan's *South of Freedom* has a timely significance in that it presents a devastating challenge to this situation. For it is to the origin of the "separate but equal" doctrine — as established and codified in the case of *Plessy vs. Ferguson* (1896) — that Rowan goes for his main point of reference. And it is the clear logic of the lone dissenter in the aforementioned case, Justice John M. Harlan, of Kentucky, that Rowan corroborates through a series of reviews and reports drawn from his personal experiences as a Negro whose youth was stretched upon the rack of the southern environment, and as a traveling reporter for the Minneapolis *Morning Tribune*.

In one sense, Mr. Rowan's book is about a resourceful and courageous chap whose success may be measured in terms of the vastly important difference between the status (and therefore dignity) of the Negro in Mr. Rowan's native McMinnville, Tennessee, and his adopted Minneapolis, Minnesota. In another, it is a level-headed response to a request made of Mr. Rowan by one Noah Brannon, a white Texan whom Rowan met where men are best able to recognize their mutual humanity: on an equal plane, in this case provided by a Navy V-12 officers' training unit at Topeka, Kansas. And in essence, it is a convincing account of what the daily life of the Negro in the South is like, communicated through a prose style which has the easy-reading attractiveness and the realistic vitality of Defoe's.

But unlike Defoe, Mr. Rowan is reporting on real people and real places. In Washington, D. C., where "Negro schools are so over-crowded that thous-

ands of colored pupils can get only part-time training." he was refused a reservation (which he had made by phone) at the Plaza Hotel. In Charleston, S. C., Mrs. J. Waties Waring told him that Wilmer Thompson, Charleston's native son and head of the local branch of the FBI, displayed an attitude "about the same as that of the local police" who dismissed as a " 'boyish prank' " the hard fact of a literal brick which offended white supremacists had flung through the window of the Warings' home. In Atlanta, he listened to Negro businessmen preach black business upon being humbled into acceptance of jim crow by the "logic of inferiority . . . inspired by fear and vested interests." And in Birmingham, "the human stinkhole of race relations," he found " 'bigshot' racial leeches sucking at the bloodstream of progress."

But in New Orleans he met George Andrews Baumann, an old ex-schoolteacher who spoke from the record:

> 'But listen, son,' he warned me. 'Don't go back and write that we've reached heaven already. 'Tain't so. Don't give anybody the idea we can't use some help.
>
> 'But we're moving along . . . Ain't but two things can stop it and that's fake liberals crying 'let us alone' and Negroes fighting their own people. So don't go telling nobody we're in heaven son. We still need all the help we can git.'

The "pseudoliberals" who receive Pulitzer prizes will not like *South of Freedom;* nor will "Negro renegades" Davis Lee, of the Newark *Telegram,* and George S. Schuyler sometimes contributor to "A Fortnightly for Individualists," *The Freeman.* But men of integrity and sober judgement will like it; and they will be eternally grateful to Noah Brannon, Carl T. Rowan, and the Minneapolis *Morning Tribune* for making this book possible. *South of Freedom* clears the atmosphere. It is powerful in effect and reliable in fact. And nowhere is it more effective than in this summary paragraph of its thesis:

> Perhaps we need new codes of honor as well as a New South, for with all of Dixie's 'honesty' in making her hatreds readable the result still is the searing of human souls and the warping of human minds. And we do need a New North; but we will have very little of this New North until we are nearer a New South, for despite the forces of division we are still one nation, and the mores of the North must to some extent reflect the mores of the South. Our boundary is too vague and too fluid for it to be otherwise. Hatred has but one source, and that is the diseased mind. Many are the minds of the North that embrace hatred; but in greater number are the minds of the South that both embrace and endorse it. We must discourage the endorsements to rule out future embracers.

HENRY F. WINSLOW

***Nature Knows No Color-Line*: Research Into the Negro Ancestry in the White Race. By J. A. Rogers. New York: Published by the Author, 37 Morningside Avenue, New York City 26. 1952. 242pp. 78 pages of illustrations. $5.00 Postpaid.**

In this book Rogers reaches back to the beginnings of Greek and Roman history to trace the Negro genes in *Homo Europaeus.* He has previously written a three-volume study of Negro-white mixing in all lands and all ages and this title is in many respects an addendum to *Sex and Race.*

Perhaps the most novel bits of information are to be found in Chapter 6, "The Negro as a 'Moor' . . . Negro Ancestry in Aristocratic European Families." "Families with Negro in

their coats-of-arms range from Sicily to Finland. Of the 497 I counted in Rietstap, France had 146, Germany 126, Holland 53, Italy 24, Switzerland 18, Poland 14, Denmark 8, Sweden 3, Finland 2. The 497 are not all, however. I might have missed some." And Rogers offers twenty-two pages of pictures of *Homo Afer* in the heraldic devices of these families.

One striking feature of *Nature Knowes No Color-Line* is the wealth of out-of-the-way and invaluable pictures, collected by the author during his travels, showing the ubiquity of the Negro in most of the countries of Europe. This book offers a singular appeal in this age of racism and intolerance.

***Henry Christophe and Thomas Clarkson:* A Correspondence. Edited by Earl Leslie Griggs and Clifford H. Prator. Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1952. 287pp. 8 Illustrations. $4.00.**

Though Henry Christophe of Haiti achieved much in the thirteen years of his rule, history seems to prefer his follies. To the French he was an ogre; to the English, a barbarian; and to Americans, the "Black Majesty" of John W. Vandercook's book of the same name. Today we would say that Christophe had a "bad press," due mainly to the French "campaign of slander and mockery," for as late as 1814 the French colonial party still clamored for recovery of Saint-Domingue.

Henry Christophe, who was elected president of the North in 1807 and proclaimed himself King Henry in 1811, although a man of dictatorial temperament, was just the sort of ruler needed to whip Haitians into a progressive, civilized nation. As the editors of this compilation point out:

"Proud and ambitious, Christophe was well equipped to lead his people; but he had no illusions concerning self-government, and he believed that only arbitrary power could bring order and prosperity to the devasted island. He realized, with almost tragic clarity, that the Haitians must be protected against themselves — from sloth, from apathy, and from ignorance. They had fought their enslavers until at last they were free, yet for tradition and race culture they had only voodoo worship, the vestiges of their African background, and the degradation of slavery."

Considering that Christophe sat on the throne for only nine years, his achievements were remarkable. He built schools and imported English teachers, built a cathedral and the palace of Sans Souci, set up a printing press at Sans Souci and a theater at Cap Henry. He established the Code Henry and The Code Rural, which may be considered models for their time and place. He imported 20,000 Africans from Dahomey who served as his bodyguard and internal police. In fact, King Henry seemed to have a plan for everything.

Thomas Clarkson, whose name furnishes the other half of the title, was an Englishman who became interested in the cause of abolition while a student at Cambridge. The great passion of his life was abolition, and he was one of the original members of the Committee for the Abolition of the Slave Trade organized in 1787. Clarkson advised Christophe on many matters and acted as a good will ambassador for Haiti and her King in Europe.

Of the 60 letters listed, only 26 are an exchange between Christophe and Clarkson. The rest are from various individuals who were connected in one way or another either with Christophe or Clarkson, or both. There are seven, for instance, from the Comte de Limonade, King Henry's secretary of state

(*Continued on page* 539)

Good News

Attorney Rayfield Lundy set a precedent when he was elected president of the Willowbrook School District board of trustees in Los Angeles County. Attorney Lundy had an outstanding record as a member of the board before he was elevated to the presidency.

★ ★ ★

Robert P. Madison, a graduate of the School of Architecture at the Western Reserve University in Cleveland, Ohio, is the first Negro to be awarded a Fulbright Scholarship in architecture for study abroad. Mr. Madison sailed in September for Paris, France, where he will study for one year at the National Higher School of Fine Arts.

★ ★ ★

An expert Negro engineer, Buck P. Campbell, has been added to the staff of the National Broadcasting Company's San Francisco radio outlet, Station KNBC. This marks the second appointment of a Negro to an important position with the station.

★ ★ ★

Dr. Joseph H. Douglass has been granted a year's leave of absence from his post as dean of the college at the Fayetteville State Teachers College, Fayetteville, N. C., to accept a lecturship during 1952-53 in the Cairo School for Social Work, Cairo, Egypt.

★ ★ ★

Edward Hall, Howard University student, made professional appearances as a regular member of the Sunday evening program's cast (CBS Radio, 8:30-9:00 P.M., EDT) during the summer.

★ ★ ★

Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University, was granted an honorary degree of Doctor of Laws by the internationally famous University of Glasgow, Glasgow, Scotland, in June.

Managing editor William Gordon of the *Atlanta Daily World*, Atlanta, Georgia, is the first Negro in the Deep South and the third in the USA to win a Nieman Fellowship for a year's study at Harvard University.

★ ★ ★

Fred W. Johnson of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, is one of three new appointees to the Sheriff's office in Philadelphia. Mr. Johnson was promoted to deputy in the sixth district in West Philadelphia.

★ ★ ★

Gerald D. Lenoir has been appointed a deputy district attorney of Los Angeles county after placing number one on the civil service list as result of examination.

★ ★ ★

The Rev. Virgin P. Moccia of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, has taken over the pastorate of a local Negro congregation, the Bidwell Street Presbyterian Church, because, to use his words, "we need to have better human relations between all peoples, regardless of color."

★ ★ ★

Bishop John A. Gregg of the Eleventh Episcopal District of the AME Church was honored with a gold medal on June 1 by Kansas University at a reunion and dinner for members of the graduating class of 1902.

★ ★ ★

Twenty-two-year-old John P. Ward of Marion, Indiana, who has been blind since birth, has been named one of the twenty winners of New York University's $6,300 Root-Tilden Scholarships for 1952-53.

Ward, a 1948 graduate of the Indiana School of the Blind, had an amazing undergraduate record of achievement both in and out of the classroom at Indiana University. His honors range from membership in Phi Beta Kappa to a recent tenure as chief justice of Indiana University's student supreme court.

He will study under the Root-Tilden grant at New York University's Washington Square campus during the fall and spring terms and will return to Indiana each summer to work toward a Ph. D. degree in government.

REVIEWS

(*Continued from page* 536)

and minister of foreign affairs, to Clarkson; two from the Baron de Vastey, the King's private secretary to Clarkson; and so on.

The editors contribute a short history of Haiti (1492-1820), thus painting in the necessary background; an appendix, with the French original of one of King Henry's letters to Clarkson; a selected bibliography, and an index. These letters show King Henry Christophe, as Earl Griggs explains in the preface, not as "the spectacular and savage despot so often found in books dealing with him," but as "a wise and farsighted monarch dedicated to the welfare of his people." He committed suicide on October 8, 1820.

The Stage of Latin America. **By Germán Arciniegas. Translated from the Spanish by Harriet de Onís. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952. XV+416+XIVpp. $4.50.**

The pressing problem in Latin America is political instability, since election time is all too often revolution time in many of these countries.

There have been, in fact, thirteen *golpes* in twelve Latin American countries during the five-year period between 1947 and 1952. Six of the twenty Latin countries—Peru, Venezuela, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Dominican Republic, and Cuba—now have out-and-out military governments and the others, with a few exceptions, varying degrees of depotism.

Germán Arciniegas, one of Latin America's most distinguished intellectuals, discusses these and related questions in *The State of Latin America*, and what he describes in this book is of vital importance to the United States and all friends of Latin America.

REPUBLICAN CASE

(*Continued from page* 491)

as in the interest of the American welfare and peace, Dwight D. Eisenhower is the best presidential candidate. He has party strength supporting equality with him; he has the Republican tradition for implementing the welfare of the Negro minority behind him; he has a party platform reaffirming the Republican interest in the Negro welfare. And he himself has already proved he intends to crusade in that interest. While the Democratic candidate chose safe New York, and Lincoln's Illinois, to make his pronouncements on civil rights, Ike on his first tour of the South carried the Republican platform to Dixie. At Tampa, Fla., and again at Little Rock, Ark., Eisenhower risked the votes he may lose in that section by reminding Dixie that the Declaration of Independence declares that "all men are created equal." And again by reminding Dixie that the "Founding Fathers had no thought of the color of skin." That was Ike "crusading."

Dwight Eisenhower will be the next president of the United States. We believe that Negroes will enthusiastically support him as all other Americans are doing. It is our belief that minorities do not want four more years of political exploitation, but a return to political honesty and will return to the White House a member of a Party which can and will DELIVER! That party is the Republican party.

LEGAL DIRECTORY

The following directory of some of the many lawyers known to us is carried in response to numerous inquiries from readers desiring to contact attorney outside their home towns. The Crisis maintains no legal bureau, and the N.A.A.C.P. handles only cases involving color discrimination, segregation or denial of citizen rights.

ARKANSAS

J. R. Booker
Century Bldg., Little Rock
Telephone: 2-4248

Flowers & Flowers
Masonic Temple, Pine Bluff
Telephone: 7171

CALIFORNIA

Thomas L. Berkley & Associates
2975 Sacramento St., Berkeley 2
1182 Seventh St., Oakland 7
Telephones: Berkeley 1-7417—
Templebar 6-3535

Joseph Landisman
413 Tenth St., Richmond
Telephone: Beacon 4-4782

Thomas G. Neusom
1111 E. Vernon Ave., Los Angeles 11
Telephone: ADams 6149

Matthews & Williams
Charles H. Matthews—David W. Williams
2510 S. Central Ave., Los Angeles 11
Telephone: ADams 1-9737—ADams 1-6712

Lionel J. Wilson
Adeline & Alcatraz Sts. Berkeley
Telephone: OLympic 2-8976

Vaughns & Yonemura
(Geo. R. Vaughns & Mas Yonemura)
1027 Adeline St., Oakland 20
Telephone: Twinoaks 3-9688

GEORGIA

Austin T. Walden
200 Walden Bldg., Atlanta 3
Telephone: Walnut 3536

ILLINOIS

William Henry Huff
6532 Cottage Grove Ave., Chicago 37
Telephone: NOrmal 7-6800

Loring B. Moore
123 W. Madison, Chicago 2
Telephone FRanklin 2-1106

INDIANA

Charles Quincy Mattocks
427 W. 30th St., Mattocks Bldg.,
Indianapolis 8
Telephone: Wabash 1444; Talbolt 1791

Henry J. Richardson, Jr.
157 N. Illinois St., Suites 208 & 209
Indianapolis 4
Telephone: Lincoln 2424-2425

Chas. H. Wills
114½ N. Michigan St., South Bend 1
Telephone: 4-4255

MARYLAND

Ernest L. Perkins
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MASSACHUSETTS

J. Clifford Clarkson
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Telephone: 32533

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Herbert L. Dudley
4256 Russell St., Detroit 7
Telephone: Terrace 2-9134

Floyd H. Skinner
Michigan at Monroe Avenue
Grand Rapids 2
Telephone: GLendale 6-1464

NEBRASKA

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(Manhart & Churchman)
500 Securities Bldg., Omaha 2
Telephone: JAckson 0966

NEW JERSEY

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23 Howard St., Newark 3
Telephone: MArket 3-4709

Logan W. McWilson
189 Halsey St., Newark 2
Telephone: MArket 3-1779

Clifford R. Moore
Broad St. Bank Bldg.
Trenton 8
Telephone: 6-2711; 5-5634

OHIO

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Telephone: EXpress 3712; 3713

Harry E. Davis
202 Engineers Bldg., Cleveland 14
Telephone: MAin 1320

Clayborne George
508 Public Sq. Bldg., Cleveland 13
Telephone: CHerry 1-1835

Chester K. Gillespie
508 Public Sq. Bldg., Cleveland 13
Telephone: CHerry 1-1835

PENNSYLVANIA

Theodore Spaulding
154 N. 15th St., Philadelphia 2
Telephone: LOcust 1317

SOUTH CAROLINA

John B. Culbertson
New City Curb Market Bldg.
P. O. Box 232, Greenville
Telephone: 2-7361

TEXAS

F. S. K. Whittaker
711 Prairie Ave., Houston 2
Office: FA4895; Home: FA0853

VIRGINIA

Reuben E. Lawson
403 Gainsboro Rd., N. W., Roanoke
Telephone: 9751

WEST VIRGINIA

Willard L. Brown
Suite 202, Brown Building
Washington at Jacob St.
Charleston
Telephones: 30-341; 21-470

SOUTHEAST VOTE

(*Continued from page* 504)

one, since it represented people in the graduate school who are teachers; the ratio in the community would probably be greater in favor of Stevenson.

Thus the evidence is that the Negro is predominantly Democratic and will vote as such.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1933, AND JULY 2, 1946

(Title 39, United States Code, Section 233) Of The Crisis, published monthly October to May inclusive; bi-monthly June-July and August-September at New York, N. Y., for Oct. 1, 1952.

1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, The Crisis Publishing Company, Inc., 20 West 40th Street, New York 18; Editor, James W. Ivy, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18; Managing editor, James W. Ivy, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18; Business manager, Roy Wilkins, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18.

2. The owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual member, must be given.)

The Crisis Publishing Company, Inc., 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y.; Dr. Louis T. Wright, President, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y.; Mrs. E. R. Alexander, Treasurer, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y. All stock owned by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Officers of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y. President: Arthur B. Spingarn, 60 Gramercy Park, N., New York 10, N. Y. Executive Secretary: Walter White, 242 East 68th St., New York 21, N. Y. Administrator: Roy Wilkins, 409 Edgecombe Ave., New York 32, N. Y. Treasurer: Dr. Allan K. Chalmers, 72 Mt. Vernon St., Boston 8, Mass. Chairman of the Board: Dr. Louis T. Wright, 218 West 139th St., New York 30, N. Y.

3. The known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state). None.

4. Paragraphs 2 and 3 include, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting; also the statements in the two paragraphs show the affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner.

5. The average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the 12 months preceding the date shown above was: (This information is required from daily, weekly, semi-weekly, and triweekly newspapers only.)

James W. Ivy

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 4th day of September, 1952.

(SEAL)

Morris Berk

(My commission expires January 22, 1954)

WEST COAST VOTER

(*Continued from page* 499)

be, a third alternative appears more probable to the writer; namely, that 1952 will see a substantial *decrease* in the number of Negro western voters, for the decision will be made to leave the contest to others whom he will consider to have more at stake.

The Negro in the West is essentially an independent; a man without a party; the voter to be courted not counted. He has been taught a bitter lesson through the years, one that he cannot and will not soon forget. The signs of his political growing-up may not impress the well-rounded caucasian liberal. He is pre-occupied with civil rights and his concern is understandable. These rights have in the past been conspicuous only by their denial and his dilemma as a Negro will take precedence over his dilemma as a liberal. The denouement of the 1952 election depends as suggested earlier on how the protagonists play their parts and on how they deliver their lines.

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